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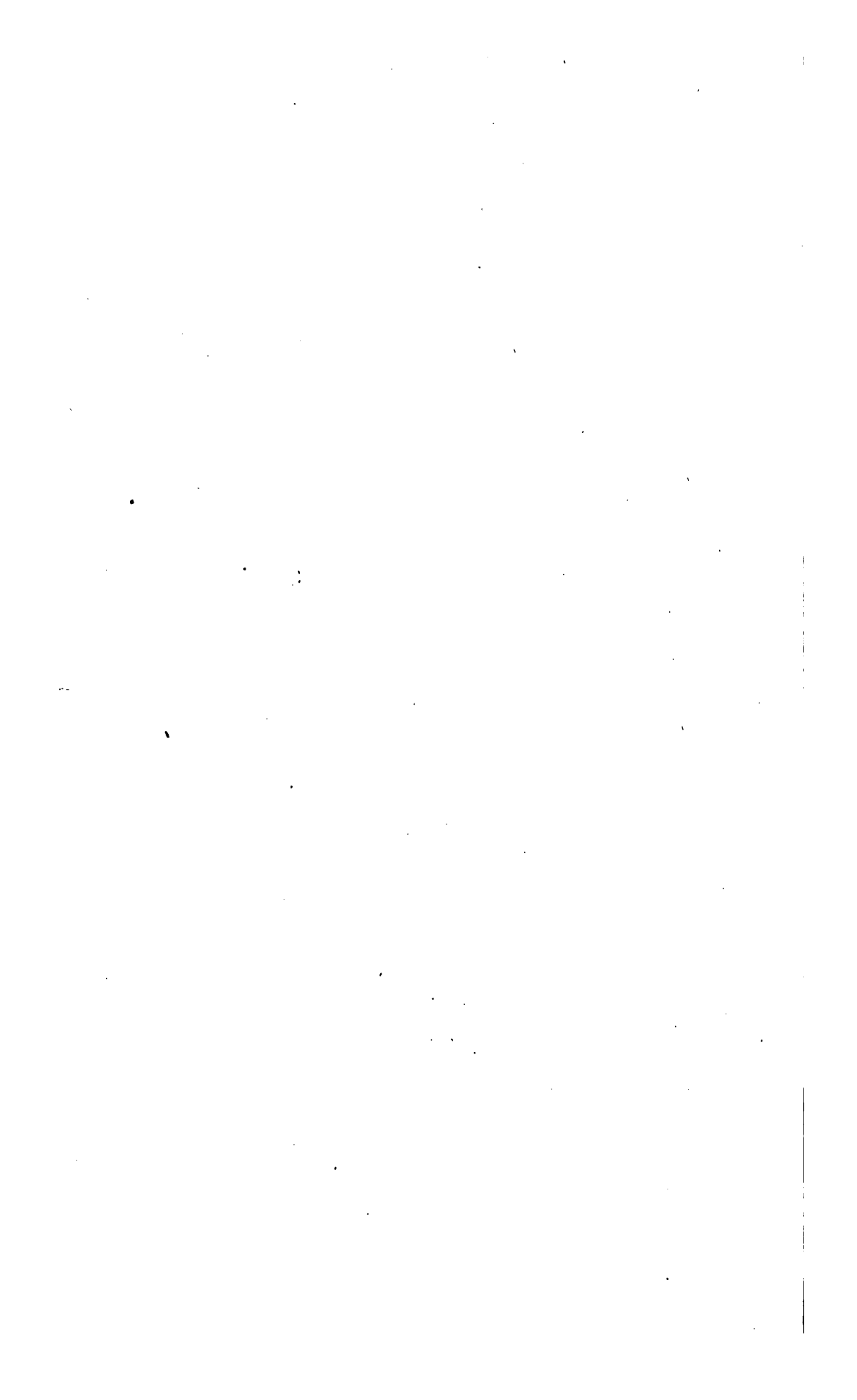
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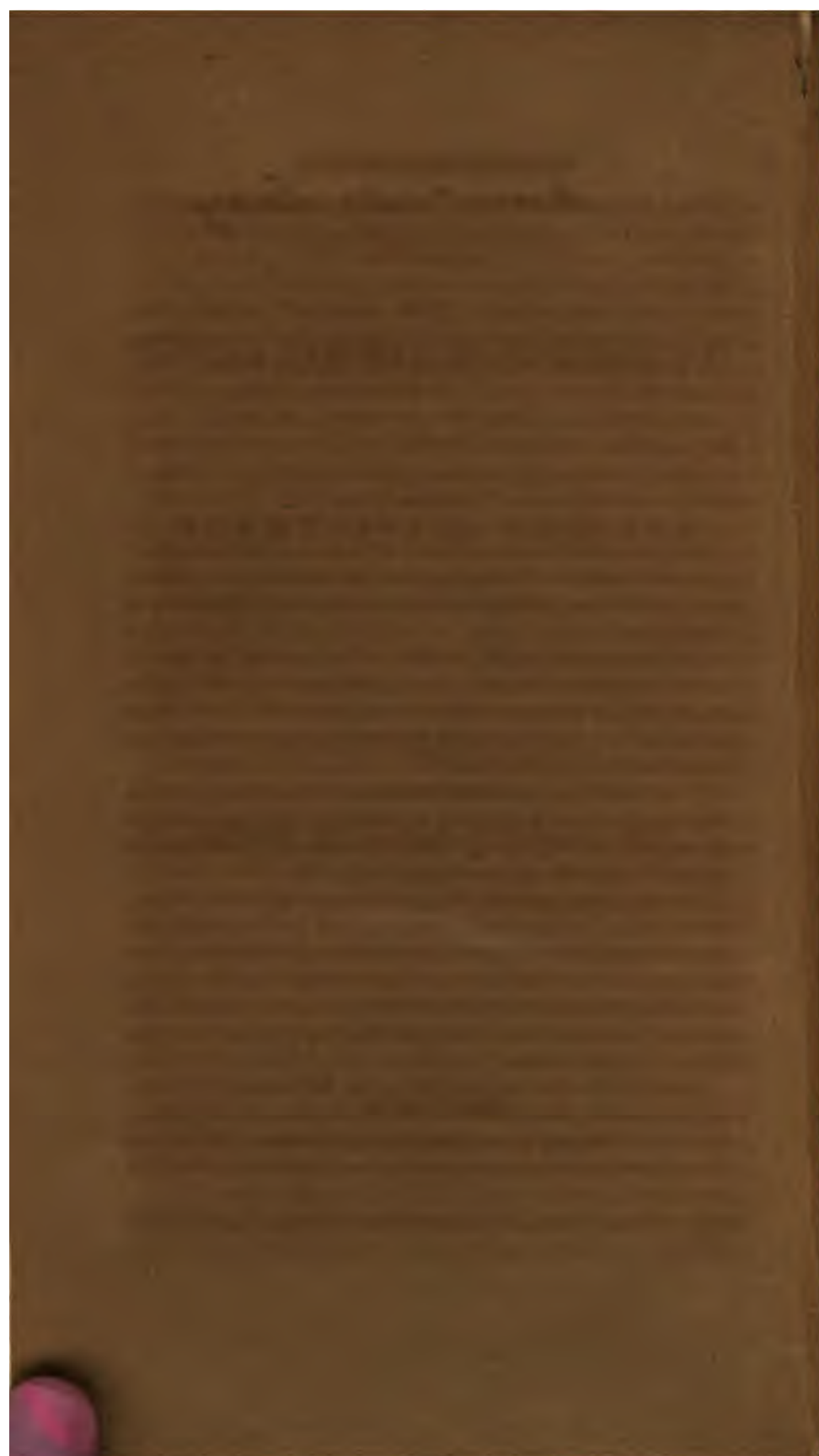
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2. Friends - New England Yearly Meeting.
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Philadelphia. 1858.

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FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.



FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS
RELATIVE TO THE
PARTICIPATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS
IN THE
AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

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FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

LEGISLATION OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE FOREIGN SLAVE
TRADE.

IN the Constitution of the United States, the following restriction on the powers of Congress, was inserted as a compromise with the members of the Convention from South Carolina and Georgia :—

“ The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.”—Art. 9.

This restriction has always been understood to apply to the African slave trade ; yet prior to the year 1808, several acts were passed to prohibit that traffic, in cases which did not fall under the constitutional restriction.

An act of 1794 provides that no citizen of the United States, or any other person residing therein, shall build or equip any vessel for the purpose of carrying on the traffic in slaves to any foreign country, or for the purpose of transporting slaves from one foreign country to another, under the penalty of the forfeiture of every vessel so employed, and the payment of a fine of two thousand dollars.

By an act of 1798, in relation to the Mississippi territory, the introduction of slaves, from any place without the limits of the United States, was prohibited under a penalty of 300 dollars for each slave so introduced ; and all such slaves were declared free.

By a law of 1800, citizens or residents of the United States

were prohibited from holding any right or property in vessels employed in the transportation of slaves from one foreign country to another, on pain of forfeiting their right of property; and likewise a fine equal to the double both of that right, and of their interest in the slaves. They were also prohibited under a penalty, not exceeding 2000 dollars, and imprisonment of not more than two years, from serving on board any vessel employed in transporting slaves from one foreign country to another. The commissioned ships of the United States were authorised to seize vessels and crews employed in violation of this act.

By an act of 1803, masters of vessels were forbidden to bring into any port, where the laws of the state prohibited the importation, any negro, mulatto, or other person of colour, not being a native, a citizen, or registered seaman of the United States, or a seaman of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, under a penalty of 1000 dollars for every person imported contrary to the provisions of this act; and no vessel having on board persons of the above description, was to be admitted to an entry; and if any such person should be landed from on board any vessel, the vessel was to be forfeited.

Soon after the acquisition of Louisiana, an act was passed for the regulation of the territory of Orleans, one of the governments into which that country was divided. Among the regulations then adopted, we find the following. "It shall not be lawful for any person to bring into the said territory, from any place without the limits of the United States, or to cause to be brought, any slave or slaves; and every person so offending, shall forfeit and pay for every slave imported the sum of 300 dollars; and every slave so imported, shall be free. It shall not be lawful for any person to bring into said territory from any place within the limits of the United States, any slave or slaves, which shall have been imported since the first day of May, 1798, into any place within the limits of the United States, or which may hereafter be so imported, from any place without the limits of the United States. And every person so offending shall forfeit for every slave imported, the sum of 300 dollars. And no slave shall be introduced into said territory, except by a citizen of the United States, removing into said territory for actual settlement, and being, at the time of remo-

val, the bona fide owner of such slave; and every slave brought into the territory, contrary to the provisions of this act shall receive his or her freedom."

Thus it appears that while the constitutional restriction in relation to the importation of slaves, was in full force, Congress exercised such authority as remained for the purpose of checking this odious traffic. In the early part of 1807, a law was enacted, in compliance with the recommendation of the president, Thomas Jefferson, for the total prohibition of this trade. This law was to come into force on the first day of the year 1808; the very day on which the constitutional restriction was to expire. By this act it is rendered unlawful to import into any part of the United States, from any foreign place or country, any negro, mulatto or person of colour, with intent that such person should be sold or held as a slave. Citizens of the United States and others are also prohibited from building, equipping or preparing within our jurisdiction, any vessel with intent of causing it to be employed in the importation of slaves into the United States. They are also prohibited from engaging in such importations. These prohibitions are supported by heavy penalties, amounting in one case to the forfeiture of the vessel, in another to 20,000 dollars, and in another to imprisonment from five to ten years.

By the same act the president is authorised to employ part of the naval force of the United States, to bring into port any vessels engaged in the slave trade, with slaves actually on board, which may be found hovering on our coast. Such vessel to be forfeited to the United States. He is also authorised to direct the commanders to seize and bring into port, all vessels of the United States which may be found any where on the high seas contravening the provisions of this act. The commanders of the vessels so seized are liable to a fine of not more than ten thousand dollars, and imprisonment of not less than two nor more than four years. One half of the proceeds of vessels thus seized and condemned, to be distributed among the officers and men by whom the seizure shall be made.

In the year 1818 further legislation was made, extending the prohibitions and penalties to the act of preparing vessels for the transportation of slaves to any place whatever. Goods imported in the same voyage with slaves are, by this act, rendered

liable to forfeiture. The penalties are by this act directed to be divided equally between the United States, and the persons who shall prosecute them to effect.

In 1819 and 1820 further provision was made for preventing the citizens of the United States from engaging in this nefarious traffic. In the latter year it was prescribed that any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign vessel engaged in the slave trade; or any person whatever being of the crew of a vessel owned wholly or in part, or navigated for or on behalf of any citizen of the United States, who shall land on any foreign shore, and seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service by the laws of any state or territory of the United States, or who shall decoy or forcibly bring on board such vessel any such negro or mulatto, with intent of holding such negro or mulatto as a slave; every such person so offending, shall be adjudged a pirate, and on conviction thereof, before the Circuit Court of the United States, in the district where he may be brought or found, shall suffer death.

The last section of this act provides that, if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign vessel engaged in the slave trade; or any person whatever, being of the ship's company of any vessel owned wholly or in part by, or navigated on behalf of, any citizen of the United States, shall forcibly confine or detain, or shall abet in forcibly confining or detaining on board any such vessel, any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labour by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave; or shall on board any such vessel offer or attempt to sell as a slave any negro or mulatto not held to service as aforesaid; or shall on the high seas or anywhere on tide water, transfer or deliver over to any other ship or vessel, any negro or mulatto, not held to service as aforesaid, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave; or shall land or deliver on shore, from on board any such ship or vessel, any such negro or mulatto, with intent to make sale of, or having previously sold such negro or mulatto as a slave; such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate, and on conviction thereof before the Circuit Court of the United States, for the district wherein he shall be brought or found, shall suffer death.

PARTICIPATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS IN THE AFRICAN SLAVE
TRADE.

It is a subject of deep lamentation, that amongst a people so jealous of their own rights, and so keenly sensitive to the value of freedom as the citizens of the United States are acknowledged to be, there should any be found so regardless of the rights and freedom of others, as to require the restraints of law to prevent them from participating in a traffic so revolting to humanity, and so totally irreconcilable to the character of a Christian community as the African slave trade. When we advert to the legislation of the federal government on this subject, as briefly disclosed in the preceding pages, we rationally conclude that very few of our citizens would be so far stimulated by avarice as to expose themselves to the penal consequences of a participation in this piratical traffic, if the existing laws were rigidly enforced. It will however appear, by the testimony hereafter adduced, that American ships and American citizens have been deeply engaged in it; and that foreign slave-dealers have assumed the American flag as a protection from seizure by the cruisers of other nations. There can be no doubt that the existence of hereditary slavery in half the states of the Union, has blunted the sensibility of the community to the wrongs of the African race; and that the prosecution of a traffic, under the sanction of law, very similar in its essential characteristics to the African slave trade, must very much abate the horror of many among us to the latter traffic, and facilitate the evasion of the laws which were designed to suppress it.

In the year 1819, a member from South Carolina, stated on the floor of Congress, that in his opinion 13,000 Africans were annually smuggled into the United States. A member from Virginia estimated the number at 15,000. In the same year Judge Story, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a charge to a grand jury, thus expressed himself: "We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it [the African trade] is still carried on with all the implacable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its eva-

sions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped to their very mouths, (I can hardly use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity."—Jay's Inquiry, N. York, 1839, p. 107. A letter from H. Moulton, now a minister of the Methodist Episcopal church, in Marlborough, Massachusetts, dated in 1839, states that he was a few years ago engaged in the service of a southern planter, and that he found a number of slaves there who could not speak English.—Slavery as it is. p. 140.

In the treaty of Ghent, by which the last war with Great Britain was brought to a close, the following article was introduced. "Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and whereas his Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object." Between four and five years afterwards, viz. in 1819, both houses of Parliament addressed the prince regent, requesting him to renew his beneficent endeavours, more especially with the governments of France and *the United States of America*, for the attainment of this object. In pursuance of this application a negotiation with our government was commenced, in which it was proposed to concede to each other's ships of war a qualified right of search, with a power of detaining the vessels of either state, *with slaves actually* on board. This proposal, however, was not acceded to.

In the 5th month, 1820, a resolution was adopted in the House of Representatives, requesting the president to negotiate with foreign powers, on the means of effecting an entire and immediate abolition of the slave trade; but if any negotiation ensued, it does not appear that any thing effectual was done.

In the 1st month, 1823, the British minister at Washington addressed a letter to the secretary of state, reminding him of the pledge in the treaty of Ghent, and calling on the American government either to assent to the plan proposed by Great Britain, or to suggest some other efficient one in its place. In answer to this letter he was informed that the plan proposed by

the United States was a mutual stipulation to annex the penalty of piracy to the offence of participating in the trade by the citizens and subjects of the two parties. To this the British minister replied, that his government had no other desire than that any of their subjects who might engage in this traffic, should be detected and brought to justice, even by foreign hands, and from under the protection of her flag. He communicated the fact, that as late as the beginning of 1822 it was stated officially by the governor of Sierra Leone, that the fine rivers of Nunez and Pongas were entirely under the control of renegade European and American slave traders. He then proposed, as the only practical cure of the evil, that a mutual right of search should be conceded, to be confined to a fixed number of cruisers on each side; to be restricted to certain parts of the ocean; and that these cruisers should act under regulations prepared by mutual consent. For some reason this proposal was not agreed to. But in the 6th month of the same year instructions were forwarded to the American minister in England, authorizing him to conclude a treaty with Great Britain on the basis of a legislative prohibition of the slave trade, by both parties, under the penalties of piracy.

As the American government had, previously to that time, enacted a law declaring the African slave trade to be piracy, but the English had not; the basis proposed did not fall within the powers of the British ministry. So confident, however, were they of the concurrence of Parliament, that the British plenipotentiaries gave their unhesitating consent to the principle of denouncing the traffic as piratical, provided the parties could agree upon the other parts of the plan proposed. A treaty was signed in London in the 3d Month, 1824, and before the end of the month a law was enacted by the British parliament, declaring that the slave trade should be adjudged piracy in every part of the British dominions after the first day of the year 1825.

It is generally understood that a pirate is an enemy to the human race, and may on conviction be put to death by any government into whose power he happens to fall. This authority is generally exercised without inquiry as to the nation to which he may have belonged. It would therefore appear,

that when the United States and Great Britain had each prescribed the punishment of piracy for their own citizens or subjects engaged in the African slave trade, they had abandoned them to any power under which they might happen to fall. The treaty however provided that the cruisers of either party on the coast of Africa, America and the West Indies, should be authorized to seize slavers under the flag of the other, and send them *home* to the country to which they belonged, where they should be proceeded against as pirates. This treaty was at length ratified by the Senate in a mutilated form, to which the British cabinet refused to agree. The negotiation appears to have been closed by a declaration of the American secretary of state, that from the views entertained by the Senate, it would seem unnecessary and inexpedient any longer to continue the negotiation respecting the slave convention, with any hope that it would assume a form satisfactory to both parties.

Negotiations were subsequently renewed on this subject, and France has united with Great Britain in urging the cabinet at Washington to co-operate with them in putting an end to the African slave trade. The correspondence on this subject does not appear to have been published, but the Edinburgh Review for 7th month, 1836, represents the final answer of the American government to have been, that under no condition, in no form, and with no restriction, will the United States enter into any convention, or treaty, or combined efforts of any sort or kind with other nations for the suppression of this trade.—Jay's View, pp. 107. 117. 125, and 19th Rep. Af. Ins. p. 85.

With such a determination on the part of our government, in relation to the foreign slave trade, and an active commerce of the same revolting character, legally prosecuted within our own limits,* we might expect that the American flag should be

* President Dew, of William and Mary College, Virginia, in one of the most ingenious defences of slaveholding which has ever appeared, observes, "We have made some efforts to obtain something like an accurate account of the number of negroes every year carried out of Virginia, to the south and west. We have not been enabled to succeed completely; but from the best information we can obtain, we have no hesitation in saying that upwards of six thousand are yearly exported to other states. *Virginia is in fact a negro raising state for other states; she*

extensively used to cover this traffic, and that American citizens should participate in its guilty emoluments. We find, however, that the flag of the United States is seldom displayed after the slaves are taken on board. The arrivals from the African coast, at the great slave marts of Brazil and Cuba are mostly announced as Spanish or Portuguese. A few such arrivals, under the American character, have been noticed within the last three or four years.

Among the arrivals at Rio Janeiro in the first Month, 1837, from the coast of Africa, reported by the British commissioners, we find one American, the M. E. Foster, said to have arrived *in ballast*, or without any cargo. The meaning of this annunciation is readily understood by adverting to the fact that of 53 arrivals at that port, from the coast of Africa, during the first half of that year, 46 were reported to have arrived in ballast. Parliamentary papers, Class A. 1837.

To those who are unacquainted with the mysteries of this traffic, it may be instructive to be informed, that the slavers usually land their slaves on some part of the coast, and then enter a neighbouring port *without a cargo*.

In the same year we find that eleven American vessels, sailed from Havana for the African coast, whereas the arrivals from the same coast are all reported as Spanish or Portuguese. Class A. 1837. Furth. Series, 67, 68. One of these vessels the *Terrible*, which sailed from Havana in the 6th month, ostensibly for the Cape de Verde islands, was found about six weeks afterwards, on the coast proceeding to Gallinas, not having touched at the Cape de Verdes. She had no regular register or sailing license, but merely a bill of sale, officially authenticated, from one of the civil courts of New Orleans, to ——— of that city, who has appeared on former occasions, as the seller of vessels purchased for the slave trade of Cuba. This man consigned her to the house of Pedro Martinez & Co. of Havana (the owners of many slave vessels which have

produces enough for her own supply, and six thousand for sale."—page 49. This is the declaration of a Virginian, not uttered by way of reproach, for he pronounces this efflux of negroes to be salutary to the state, and an abundant source of wealth. This publication appeared soon after the Southampton riot; that is to say seven or eight years ago.

been reported,) who despatched her thence on an ostensible voyage to the Cape de Verde islands, under the command of ———, who declared himself to be an Englishman but to have naturalised himself as an American. The letter of instruction from Martinez & Co. which was written in very bad English, directed the master to consign himself to Pedro Rodriguez of the Gallinas, (an agent there for the supply of slave ships) who was if he wished it "to have the vessel at his command," and should he desire to "change the colours," he was to do so for himself. In this case the crew were to be paid off with two months' additional wages. The lading consisted of 30 half pipes of agua ardiente, and 53 small packages of tobacco, a cargo by no means sufficiently assorted for carrying on lawful commerce on that part of the coast. Class A. 1837. pa. 4.

Another of these vessels the Cleopatra was entered in the name of the same great slave dealers P. Martinez & Co. and despatched in company with a Portuguese schooner the Sin Igual, ostensibly to the Cape de Verde islands. Class A. Furth. Series, 51. There can be no doubt as to the employment of these two American schooners. If the other nine had been designed for lawful commerce to the African coast, it is not likely that they would have cleared out at Havana, particularly as the slave trade appears to be almost the only commerce carried on between that port and the African continent. We have indeed something more than conjecture with regard to one of them. The brig *Two Friends*, which sailed on the 7th of Third month, is supposed to have carried out a slaving equipment for two Portuguese vessels which cleared out the same day. It also appears that a schooner which sailed in the Fifth month under the name of the Vibora de Cabo Verde, as Portuguese property, was one of two which arrived at Havanna in the year 1836, under the American flag, *fitted in every particular for the slave trade*; and took in a cargo which would at once have condemned as a slaver any vessel belonging to the nations which are parties to the equipment article. These vessels it appears cleared out for the Cape de Verde islands. Buxton, 29. It is probable that both these vessels changed their names during the voyage. The one

which under the American flag bore the name of the Viper, is found about seven months afterwards sailing on a slaving expedition, with the name of the Vibora de Cabo Verde, under the flag of Portugal. Class B. 1837, pa. 139.

In the spring of the same year, we find that a brig called the Latona arrived at Lisbon under American colours, which had been sold by an inhabitant of Philadelphia to a man who resided at Havana. Part of the purchase money was paid in Philadelphia, and the remainder at Havanna. The purchaser then proceeded in her to Lisbon, having a crew engaged only for the voyage. On the passage it was discovered that there were various articles on board, mostly concealed, which plainly indicated that the ultimate object was a slaving expedition. Whether these articles were shipped at Havanna, or previously to her arrival there is not explained. It however plainly appears that this slave equipment was carried across the Atlantic under the protection of the American flag. The circumstance of such articles being on board was disclosed to the British minister at Lisbon, who announced it to the Portuguese authorities and to the American Charge d'Affaires. The latter withdrew his protection from the Latona, which raised the Portuguese flag, and appears to have sailed from Lisbon for Mozambique. Class B. 1837, pa. 33, 40.

Among the vessels which are reported by the commissioners as having left Havana in the year 1837, is the American schooner Bee, which is said to have sailed "on the 22nd of February, for the Cape de Verdes, under suspicious circumstances." Class A. Fur. Series, pa. 68. On the 5th of 12th month following, the same vessel was captured by a British cruiser off Cape Tiburon, Hayti, with 163 slaves on board. A document found on board, states that this schooner was sold on the 11th of April, at one of the Cape de Verde islands. The new ostensible owner was a subject of the Portuguese government; and the vessel when captured bore the name of the Isabelita. The sale was attested by the American Vice-Consul at Villa da Praia, St. Jago, Cape de Verdes. Class A. 1839, pa. 31, 32.

That the sales of these slavers are often fictitious may be reasonably inferred from the nature of the case; but we are

furnished with a curious species of testimony on the subject, in the capture of the Portuguese schooner *Ingunane* on the 12th of 9th month 1837. This vessel sailed from Havana, one or two days before the *Bee* under the name of the *Lince*, and as Spanish property. She arrived at the Cape de Verdes, was there nominally sold to a Portuguese subject, and obtained the usual testimonials of sale, and Portuguese papers. When captured with slaves on board, a declaration signed by the ostensible purchaser, was found among her papers, stating that the bill of sale was procured for the purpose of enabling the vessel to navigate the sea with Portuguese colours and papers; and that he had not purchased the vessel or paid any money for her; and consequently had no interest in her. In another document dated two days later, the same man appears as the owner, giving authority to the captain to act on his behalf and for his benefit in the employment of the schooner. Ib. 38.

In the 12th month 1838, the schooner *Sirse* was condemned as a slaver by the British and Spanish mixed court at Sierra Leone. The following is extracted from the account of this vessel. "Of the numerous papers found on board this vessel, the first in point of date is a bill of sale, which shows, that the *Sirse* was originally the *Thomas H. Smith*, of New York, built in 1828, owned by an American citizen, who obtained an American register for her in his own name, at New York on the 29th of August, 1837. On the 19th of the following month — sold his vessel at Havanna to T. C. de Mello, for \$3000. A certificate from the American consul at Havana, dated on the same day, states that — had appeared before him and acknowledged the bill of sale as his own act and deed. It will be observed that there is an interval of only 21 days between the date of the New York register and the date of the bill of sale at Havana. The former document must therefore have been obtained for the express purpose of facilitating the immediate transfer of the vessel." On board was found, "a certificate from the receiver of customs at Porto Praia, stating that T. C. de Mello had paid the 15 per cent. duty required by law, on the purchase money of the *Sirse*, *bought by his empowered attorney at New York*. In the bill of sale, the purchase is said to have been made at Havana, and de Mello himself is

named as the buyer." There was also found, "a set of bills for 500 dollars, drawn by Pedro Blanco of Gallinas, on ——— of New York, in favour of the well known Theodore Carrot, and endorsed by the latter to P. M. Tito, who figured as a passenger, but actually conducted the proceedings of the vessel. They are dated the 1st of September." This vessel was captured in the 11th month, on the African coast, fully equipped for a slaving expedition, but without slaves on board. Class A. 1839. Fur. Series, 26, 27.

In 1837, as already mentioned, eleven vessels under the American flag, are reported to have sailed from Havana, for the African coast, under circumstances which excited a suspicion that they were designed for the importation of slaves. In 1838, the reports exhibit nineteen of similar character. Several of these have been discovered to be connected with the slave trade. Near the end of the year 1836, the brig *Velor*, American built, was condemned as a slaver at Sierra Leone, and sold at auction. She was purchased and sent to London; from whence in the spring of the following year, she was sent with a cargo to Cadiz. At that place she was delivered to a Spanish captain and crew, and not long afterwards sailed for Cuba. In the 11th month 1838, the same vessel under Portuguese colours, and bearing the name of the *Vetuano*, was captured off the river Gallinas. In the examination which ensued it appeared she was then owned by P. Martinez & Co. of Havana, and was intended to carry from 400 to 500 slaves, on her return to Cuba. Letters found on board served to explain the employment of several of the American vessels which left Havana during that year. In a letter from P. Martinez & Co. to their slave agent at Gallinas, they mention their having transmitted their correspondence by one of those American vessels (the *Mary Jane*) up to the time of her sailing; and their having consigned to him, by another American vessel (the *Comet*) 290 demijohns of rum. The receipt for this rum, signed by the captain of the *Comet*, and an engagement to deliver it to the said agent, was endorsed. It also appears that eighty hogsheads of tobacco, were sent to the same agent by another American brig, (the *Alexander*.) It is likewise plainly intimated that they had some commercial connection

with another of those American vessels, (the Dido) which had sailed from Havana a few days after the Alexander.

Another package, found in the same vessel (the Veloz alias the Vetuano,) contains the duplicate of a letter from a slave trading house at Havana to their agent at Gallinas, enclosing the agreement between them and the master of the Comet, together with a list of the merchandise which they had shipped in her, from which it is obvious that this vessel, though sailing with the character of an American, and no doubt under the protection of the American flag, was loaded chiefly if not wholly by foreigners, and with merchandise sent expressly for the African slave trade.* Among the articles enumerated are 15 cases containing 300 guns, 315 packages of powder, 4 cases containing 40 doz. cutlasses, 30 quarter casks, 197 ankers and 60 loading barrels of rum, and a large quantity of tobacco. Another document is the duplicate account of the cost of a vessel the Fuor Africano, despatched by the same house to Gallinas. Among the expenses of the expedition are the following curious items.

Gratifications to the Portuguese consul, the commissioner of our own nation, the commandant of the marine, and other persons concerned in despatching this vessel 750 dollars.

Gratifications in the office of the maritime captain general, in that of the Senor Naval Commandant, to the person who interceded with the English consul to smooth things as far as possible, 576 dollars. To La Barca for sundries for delivering suspicious articles 637 dollars.—Ibid. pages 32, 51.

This vessel, the Fuor Africano, three-fourths of which belonged to the merchants who loaded the American brig Comet, was captured on the 15th of 8th month in the river Gallinas, under the Portuguese flag and bearing the name of the Diligente. She was fully equipped for the slave trade and accordingly condemned at Sierra Leone, in the 10th month 1838.—Ibid. 11, 24. It is a striking illustration of the perseverance of these unlawful

* The same letter contains the following significant passage. "As you wished we should send you a month later, an *American* private boat, able to carry 250 or 300 bultos (slaves) to embark the return cargo, we have taken care to purchase one, on purpose to send it to you, with some rum and tobacco prepared with the greatest economy," p. 47.

traders, that the same vessel had been seized in the 1st month 1837, with 576 slaves on board, and condemned at *Sierra Leone* in the 3rd month following. She had previously to that time borne at least two different names, and was then called the *Paquete de Cabo Verde*, and belonged to P. Martinez & Co. though ostensibly a Portuguese vessel. At the time of the second seizure, 17 months after the first condemnation, she was owned in part by the same Martinez & Co. See Class A. 1837, p. 46.

In a letter from the commissioners at Havana to Lord Palmerston, dated 25th of April, 1838, they say: "In addition to the arrivals mentioned in our despatch, we have learned since it was forwarded, that in the month of February, a schooner under American colours, landed a cargo of between 200 and 300 negroes at or near Camoirca not far from Matanzas. She had been sold to Spanish owners, and was to have been transferred to the Portuguese flag at the Cape Verde islands; but the master dying before they arrived, and the crew, not knowing what to do, proceeded to the coast of Africa, and having procured a cargo of negroes, returned with them under American colours. Information of this having been forwarded to Philadelphia, and thence to Pensacola, the *Grampus*, American schooner of war, was sent from the latter place to Matanzas, to inquire into the circumstances; when it is said to have been satisfactorily proved that there were none but Spaniards on board." Class A. 1839, pa. 94.

A letter from the British judge at Havana to Lord Palmerston, dated 22d Aug. 1838, contains the following passage. "Another vessel of like character arrived here the 4th inst., and is thus reported in the *Diario* of the 5th. 'From Baltimore in 24 days, the American ship *Venus*, Captain Wallace, tons 460, with bricks, to Don José Morana, passengers, 2. Of this vessel there is the following notice in a Baltimore paper, the *American*, of July 4th. A noble corvette ship the *Venus*, Captain Wallace, pierced for 18 guns, built in this city for foreign account, is also ready for sea. She is we learn the sharpest clipper built vessel ever constructed here, and, according to the opinion of nautical men, must outsail any thing that floats.'

The *Venus* is destined for Mozambique, and is designed to bring as many as 1000 negroes.

"On the subject of vessels going equipped under the American flag, to the coast of Africa, then to be pretended to be transferred for the first time, to some Portuguese or Spanish owner, I have had several conversations with the American consul at this place, a gentleman of high character, as well as of considerable reading and observation. I regret, however, to say, that I have received only the most discouraging replies, on every point, relating to the prohibited traffic, and to add that this seems the general feeling here of the American community. They all seem to declare, that it would be a question not to be entered upon, of inquiring into their equipments, as interfering with their trade, not knowing how far such interferences might be led to extend; and that England may as well think of closing up the work shops of Birmingham, where, they say, the bolts and shackles are manufactured, as to call on America to forbid the sailing of vessels equipped with them. In answer, I have not hesitated to express my disbelief of the shackles coming from Birmingham; and to declare my full conviction that at no port whatever in England, would they allow any such articles to be shipped, had they any idea of their being intended for the traffic in slaves.

"I regret to have also to inform your Lordship, that during the suspension of the Portuguese consul, as I have previously stated, the American consul has been acting *pro tempore* in that character, thus unquestionably giving a certain degree of effect to the abuse of the flag of his republic, under its association with the slave trade, and the pretended transfers to other owners on the coast of Africa."—*Ibid.* 126.

Charles D. Tolmé, consul at Havana, in a letter to the Vice Admiral Sir C. Paget, dated June 14, 1839, has thus noticed the *Venus*. "A first rate Baltimore three master, of 460 tons, arrived here on the 4th, and sailed for the coast of Africa on the twenty-fifth of August last, as the American ship *Venus*. Whilst she was here, some of the officers of her majesty's navy saw and examined her, among the rest Commander Fraser of the *Nimrod*. She has returned, within a few days from Africa, as the Portuguese ship *Duqueza de Braganza*, after landing on

the coast of this island above 800 negroes. Her Portuguese papers are said to be those of an old vessel, originally French, subsequently Spanish, and ultimately transferred to the Portuguese flag under the name which the *Venus* now bears." Class B. Further Series, 1839. On the 19th of the same month the English commissioners at Havana, in a letter to Viscount Palmerston, give the subjoined account of this vessel. "The *Venus* sailed hence under the American flag, with several American citizens on board, but in the ship's articles, of which a glance, in bravado, was afforded her majesty's commissary judge, it was expressly stipulated, that she was to be taken to Bahia, there to be transferred to the Portuguese flag. This however appears not to have been done, for in the almost incredibly short period of four months, the ship has returned, and in the beginning of this month landed on the coast the extraordinary cargo of 860 slaves. At this time the name was changed to the *Duqueza de Braganza*, and she bore the Portuguese flag; but it was a matter of doubt whether a valid, if any, transfer of her had taken place; and it was currently believed that the American subjects [citizens] who had sailed in her from this port, were present when the slaves were taken on board. Indeed it was reported, from the parties themselves, that they had been visited on the coast of Africa, when bearing the American flag, by the officers of a British cruiser; and upon being asked what they were doing there, answered the inquiries by saying, it was no business of theirs, and that they were Americans. They boasted also, that though one of the cruisers watched and saw them take part of their cargo on board, and attempted afterwards to follow them, yet the chase was made in vain.* And undoubtedly the wonderfully short time in which this unprecedentedly successful voyage has been made, fully warrants the character which the ship brought here of her fast sailing qualities.

"Under these circumstances we felt it our duty to call the attention of the American consul, who is also acting as Portu-

* Captain Popham of the British sloop *Pelican*, states, that on 28th of November, when about 100 miles south of Lagos, he chased this ship, and at first gained on her; but she was lightened by throwing her deck cargo and spars overboard; when she sailed away from him with ease, notwithstanding his utmost efforts to come up with her. Class D. 1839. Further Series, p. 34.

guese consul, to so gross a violation of the laws, as well as of the flag of the United States."

The commissioners add, that the cost of the ship, and cargo including all expenses, was estimated at 100,000 dollars; and that the slaves sold for nearly 300,000 dollars. They also stated that she was preparing for another voyage.

It may be observed that the communication to the American consul, was contained in about 15 lines, and that the language was altogether respectful. To that communication the consul returned a reply, filling no less than three printed folio pages, manifesting a strangely morbid sensibility in relation to the independence of his nation, and the interference of foreigners with the execution of our laws. He took occasion to taunt the British nation with manufacturing fabrics expressly for the African trade, and particularly of producing and exporting to Cuba large quantities of shackles, the distinctive instrument for carrying on the slave trade. See Class A. Fur. Ser. 1839, pp. 108, 112. To this angry address Viscount Palmerston directed the commissioners to reply, by assuring the consul that if he could at any time furnish the English government, through them, with any information which might, directly or indirectly, enable them to enforce the penalty of the law against British subjects who may be concerned in the slave trade, that government would feel most sincerely obliged to him.—*Ib.* p. 120.

It is remarkable that a few days after the British commissioners announced to the American consul the arrival of the *Venus* on the coast, and the landing of her human cargo, they addressed a note to the French consul general, informing him of the return of a French brig from Africa, with a cargo of slaves, which she was understood to have landed in the neighbourhood. To this note the French consul returned an answer next day, informing the commissioners that a brig of war had been ordered to prepare immediately to go in search of the suspected vessel.—*Ibid.* 115. This vessel was run ashore and lost soon after discharging her slaves, not without suspicion that the wreck was intentionally incurred to prevent detection and exposure.—*Ibid.* 114. Class B. 1839, Fur. Series, 31.

A letter from Viscount Palmerston to H. S. Fox, minister at Washington, dated 31st of May, 1838, contains the following:

"I have received information from her Majesty's commissioners at Havana, that persons who are engaged in the slave trade in Cuba, and who are desirous to evade the effect of the stipulations of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain, have lately made a practice of purchasing vessels in the United States, and of sending them equipped for the slave trade, under American colours, to the Cape de Verde islands, or to the coast of Africa; that a mock sale is there made, and the vessel is pretended to be transferred to Spanish or Portuguese owners; the name being changed, and all vestiges of her former character lost." Class D, 1838-9, p. 50.

On the 3d of 6th mo. 1838, a Portuguese schooner named the *Prova*, was captured in the Calabar river, with 225 slaves on board. It was found that this vessel had cleared out from Havana, about 10 months previously, with a custom-house clearance for the *river Calabar*, and a certificate from the Portuguese consul, dated one day later, declaring that she was cleared out solely for the *island of St. Thomas*. In the official manifest, 20 bundles of shaken casks for bringing back palm oil, and 2000 feet of boards, are mentioned as part of the legitimate cargo. The casks were no doubt designed to hold water for the slaves, and the boards to form slave decks. The *Prova* being injured in a gale, soon after leaving Havana, put into Charleston to refit, and remained there nearly three months. A document was furnished, with the signature of the American custom-house officers, declaring that no part of her cargo was landed at Charleston. The cargo, however, was described, and the 20 *bundles of shooks* included in the description. Thus equipped for a slave voyage, she was permitted to leave an American port without interruption. Class A. 1839. p. 73, 74.

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant Kellett to Admiral Elliott, dated 19th of July, 1838. "When cruising for the interception of slave vessels from the Gallinas and Sherbro, I boarded the American schooner *Mary Hooper*, belonging to Philadelphia, who received at Havana her cargo of *agua ardiente*, navigated by a crew of seven men. She had on board nine passengers, Spaniards and Portuguese, with a Spaniard as supercargo; and is consigned to a notorious slave trader at the Gallinas. Charles M. Bugstraud, the master and nominal owner, has been twice

taken for breaches of the slave laws. The vessel called at Port Praya, and I have no doubt received other papers there; the master did not deny the fact. The passengers, I have no doubt, are intended to assist in navigating the vessel when the slaves are on board. As she was under the American flag, I did not feel myself justified in making search for any other papers." Class D. Fur. Series, 1839, p. 24.

Among the vessels detained by the British cruisers near the end of 1838, we find the schooner *Constituição*, detained in Aura roads, without slaves on board, having a crew of 24 men. Upon this the following note is made by the captor. "She produced a Cape Verde island paper dated 10th of December, stating her to be American built, in which the name of the captain differs from that on the muster roll: found Spanish custom-house clearances, to which are affixed the name of Mr. Trist as American consul, there being no Portuguese at Havana. All eleven passengers had Spanish passports, and evidently held the highest offices on board. One stated himself to be the owner of both vessel and cargo; found in his desk a certificate of his birth as a Spaniard, and several printed forms signed by Mr. Trist, *left blank* for them to fill up at pleasure. Found a Spanish log in the main hold, and a Spanish ensign secreted. She had four men, neither accounted for by muster roll nor passports, making a total of thirty-nine. Her cargo is rich, consisting of powder, spirits, silks, Manchester goods, and tobacco: has slave irons, plank for decks, large coppers and leaguers." This vessel was under Portuguese colours. Ibid. 26.

Extract from a letter from Lieutenant Birch to Commodore Sullivan, dated 12 November, 1838. "The American brig *Dido* of Baltimore, her master, ——— Phillips, and ——— Manuel, supercargo, when under American colours, and vice versa when under Portuguese colours, left the Havana about March, 1837*, with a general slave cargo, consisting of arms, ammunition, spirits, tobacco, &c., and touched at Cape de Verde islands, where it is probable she got Portuguese papers, after the sham sale was effected. From thence she proceeded to

* This is unquestionably an error, probably in the printing. The commissioners at Havana report that the *Dido* left that port Feb. 27, 1838.

Lagos, in the Bight of Benin. From Lagos she finally sailed with 575 slaves on board. After three weeks passage she made the sand hills to the windward of Bahia. On reconnoitering the port, her majesty's sloop Sparrow-hawk was observed at anchor; upon which they hauled off, hoisting, however, their distinguishing flag forward, and American colours abaft, which was acknowledged from the village outside the bar. That same evening 570 slaves, (five having died on the passage) were landed close to the point Itapacan, at the village. During the night the Dido was cleaned out, and made her appearance in Bahia, next day, under American colours. The Dido left Bahia again on the 27th of July with a general cargo for the coast, and was expected [reported] by the Mary Lushing of Baltimore, as having been left by her in September, in Lagos river, in the Bight of Benin."

The same writer in a subsequent letter informs that they had boarded the Mary Lushing, of Baltimore, under American colours, Reynolds, master, with a crew all of whom were Portuguese or Spaniards. The master voluntarily allowed them to inspect the vessel between decks. The equipment plainly proved her destination, but there were no slaves on board. The vessel had been sold to parties at Havana, for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade, the former American master remaining on board with the register, that she might still bear the flag of the United States. Upon some allusion being made to the colours which were flying, the master observed, that if he had negroes on board, they should not see those colours up. Ibid. 28, 29.

The case of the brig Eagle appears worthy of notice. This vessel was reported by the commissioners at Havana as one of the nineteen American vessels which left that port in 1838, supposed to be engaged in the slave trade. Her departure is stated to have taken place on the 9th of May. Lieutenant Birch, in a letter to Commodore Sullivan, informs him, that on the 16th of September, he boarded the Eagle, of Baltimore, near Bahia, under American colours, — Littig, master, in ballast, with a crew and passengers, in all 21 men. Her American papers were produced, and he did not conceive himself warranted in searching her. It was reported at Bahia

that she had landed slaves to the northward, and her appearance, on boarding, warranted the supposition. On the 19th of October she again sailed with a general cargo for the coast of Africa. Ibid. 28. A letter from Lieutenant Reeve, commander of the sloop *Lily*, dated at Gambia, April 2, 1839, states that he had captured the *Eagle* at Lagos, she being under American colours, but the crew all Spaniards, except one man, who called himself both master and owner. The captor sent her to Sierra Leone for adjudication, but the mixed commission there refused to decide the case, on the ground that the ship's papers set forth that she was an American. She is stated to have been sold at Havana, and that the American vice-consul attested the sale, and granted American papers. The writer adds his opinion, that in a short time no other flag than the American will be seen on the coast, for under existing laws it affords all the protection which a slaver can desire. Ib. 30.

The papers produced were the following :

1. A power of attorney for the disposal of the brig *Eagle* of Baltimore, made by William G. Harrison and Walter Price, both of the city of Baltimore, to T. I. Wingate, master, signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John Gill, notary public, Baltimore.

2. A bill of sale of the *Eagle* of Baltimore, signed 1st of December, 1837, from T. I. Wingate, master, on part of owners, to Joshua W. Littig, signed by the said Thos. I. Wingate, and duly attested by J. A. Smith, vice-consul.

- 3 & 4. Two certificates from N. P. Trist, consul of the United States, Havana, dated 10th of March, 1838, attesting that annexed was a correct copy of the power of attorney granted by William G. Harrison and Walter Price, to Thos. I. Wingate; and that the said Thos. I. Wingate had that day acknowledged before him, that the accompanying bill of sale was his act and deed. That there was inserted in the bill of sale a correct copy of the original register of the brig, and likewise that the original register was deposited at the consulate, to be sent to the collector of the customs at Baltimore.

The commissioners at Sierra Leone having refused to take cognizance of the *Eagle*, on account of her American character, the prize-master returned with her to Lagos, and thence to

Fernando Po, where Charles Fitzgerald, commander of the brigantine Buzzard, took charge of her with a determination to deliver her to the government of the United States. The commander and nominal owner, not finding the American character of the Eagle likely to be of any further advantage, then declared, that though he was an American citizen, the vessel and cargo were Spanish property; that she was equipped in May of the preceding year, at the port of Havana, for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade; that he had not purchased the Eagle, or paid any thing for her; and that the bill of sale was made out without his being a party, or privy to it; that he was engaged by F. Morales at Havana, as a citizen of the United States, in order to cover the brigantine Eagle with the flag of the nation to which he belongs; and that he had no interest in the adventure except the wages which might be due at the end of the voyage." Dr. Madden's letter to W. E. Channing, p. 29. 31.

The Eagle, and two others of like occupation, arrived at New York in the 6th month, 1839, under charge of the British brigantine Buzzard. But it appears that our government declined receiving them. Jay's View, 132.

Extract from a letter from Captain Popham, of the sloop Pelican, dated December 24, 1838, to Admiral Elliott. "The Pelican sailed from West Bay, Prince's Island, on the 15th inst. On the 17th, at day break, a suspicious sail was reported. We made all sail in chase, and at 7 A. M. detained the Portuguese slave schooner Magdalena, with a cargo of 320 slaves. Among her passengers was a citizen of the United States, who had on the 1st of December made over to a Spaniard the schooner Ontario, of Baltimore. The sale was no doubt effected at Havana, though the bill of sale mentioned it to have taken place at Brass.

"In this instance the American flag gave unqualified protection to the slave trade; for the Ontario was boarded by the boats of her Majesty's ship Viper in November, and she was then reported as preparing for the reception of slaves, but having American papers and colours.

"After a little conversation with the Portuguese commander of the Magdalena, he informed me that the Ontario was in

company on the preceding afternoon. Of this information immediate advantage was taken; and sailing in the proper direction, we came next morning at day-light in sight of the Ontario, and captured her at 11. 30 A. M. with 220 slaves on board. She was under Spanish colours, but had no papers whatever. Ontario of Baltimore was painted in large letters on her stern.

"Both these vessels I sent to Sierra Leone for adjudication, informing the British commissioners of my intention to detain the American —, until I received your orders respecting the disposal of him. However, on a careful perusal of the instructions in my possession, and of the correspondence between Great Britain and the United States on the subject of the slave trade, I was induced to alter my intention, feeling that I should not be borne out in interfering with a citizen of the United States, which it appeared to me, the American government evinced no disposition to tolerate, *even in very extreme cases*. It has been mentioned by Spaniards and Portuguese slaving on this coast, that, were it not for the active co-operation of the Americans, the slave trade would very materially decline; in fact be but feebly carried on. I do not doubt, from all I hear, that the citizens of the United States, (generally of Baltimore) are more deeply interested in the slave trade to the Havana and Brazil, than is generally supposed." Class D, 1839, Fur. Series, p. 34.

Rear Admiral Elliott, in a letter to Charles Wood, dated Feb. 13, 1839, expresses his opinion that the use of the American flag is rapidly becoming more general in the protection of Spanish slave vessels. In so barefaced a manner do the slavers proceed, that in some instances they have not even one American to personify the captain; but satisfy themselves with furnishing one of the crew with a certificate of naturalization for the occasion. He adds, "If her majesty's ships were at liberty to send some of these pretended Americans to the United States, and the government of that country were to uphold the honour of their flag, by subjecting such lawless felons to prosecution and punishment, it would soon put an end to the nefarious usurpation of their flag by the most notorious slave dealers belonging to Spain and Portugal." *Ib.* 35. (Printed list.)

Further evidence of the participation of American citizens in

this guilty traffic could be readily produced, but it is apprehended that what has been already exhibited is amply sufficient not only to remove all doubt upon this subject, but to evince the imperious necessity that some measures of a more efficient character than any yet adopted, should be resorted to for the purpose of redeeming our citizens from the guilt, and our national character from the infamy, of encouraging and supporting a traffic which the civilized world has agreed to condemn, and which our own laws have placed in the catalogue of the blackest crimes.

OF THE DESTRUCTION OF LIFE ATTENDANT UPON THE SEIZURE.

On this head a few facts and observations will suffice. It is obvious from the nature of the case that great numbers of persons must perish in the contests by which the slave trade is supplied, even if the assailants always kept their primary object steadily in view. But it is well ascertained that the rage which a determined resistance sometimes excites, causes the barbarous warriors to forget their original object, and to sacrifice to their vengeance, those whom their avarice would have taught them to spare. Thomas Clarkson gives, on the authority of an eye witness, an instance in which a large party attacked a town on the Niger,* for the purpose of procuring slaves, but meeting with an obstinate resistance, a furious battle ensued, which after lasting about half an hour, resulted in the flight of the townsmen, who took to the river, and endeavoured to swim to the opposite shore. They were closely pursued by the victors, who in their fury put all who fell into their hands indiscriminately to the sword. Even the children were not spared.—*Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the human species.* p. 72.

Major Denham, who visited Africa in 1822, 3 and 4, observes,—"On attacking a place, it is the custom of the country instantly to fire it; and as they are all composed of straw huts only, the

* Probably the Senegal, or one of the neighbouring rivers, which were formerly supposed to be the outlet of the Niger.

whole is shortly devoured by the flames. The unfortunate inhabitants fly quickly from the destructive element, and fall immediately into the hands of their no less merciless enemies who surround the place; the men are quickly massacred, and the women and children lashed together and made slaves." Denham & Clap. Narrative, Boston edition, p. 125. In another place he informs us that a marriage was negotiated between the Shiekh of Bornou and the daughter of the Sultan of Mandana, in which the marriage portion was to be the proceeds of an expedition into a neighbouring country by the united forces of the contracting potentates. The result was, that three thousand unfortunate wretches were dragged from their native wilds and sold into perpetual slavery, *while probably double that number were sacrificed to obtain them.* Ibid. 89.

Again he observes, "The season of the year had arrived when the sovereigns of these countries go out to battle, and the dread of the bashaw's expedition had prevented the sheikh from making an inroad into the Beghermi country, they in consequence took the opportunity of attacking him, notwithstanding their discomfiture in five former expeditions, when at least twenty thousand poor creatures were slaughtered, and three-fourths of that number, at least, driven into slavery."—Again, "a direful war of extermination had been for years carried on between Bornou and Beghermi, the fury of which had not in the least abated. No males were spared on either side, except on terms worse perhaps than death." Ib. 163, 164. He afterwards relates the circumstances of a contest between these people, in which seven sons of the Sultan of Beghermi, besides seventeen hundred of their warriors were slain; in addition to which many were drowned in attempting to escape. The plunder in this case is said to have been four hundred and eighty horses, nearly two hundred women, and two of the other sex. Ib. 191.

Of the sufferings and mortality usually attendant upon the journeys performed by the slaves between their capture and embarkation melancholy accounts are given by numerous travellers. The author last quoted, speaks of thousands of skeletons whitening in the blast between Houka and Mourzuk, on the route usually pursued by the slave caravans on their way to Ferran; p. 131,

Under date of December 16th, 1822, he mentions their leaving the wells of Omah, where he observes, "numbers of skeletons or parts of skeletons lay scattered on the sands." Next evening they arrived at a well near Meshroo. "Round this spot were lying more than one hundred skeletons, some of them with the skin still remaining attached to the bones, not even a little sand thrown over them. The greater part of these unhappy people had formed the spoils of the Sultan of Fezzan the year before. They were marched off with chains round their necks and legs: the most robust only arrived at Fezzan in a very debilitated state, and were there fattened for the Tripoli slave market. We bivouaced in the midst of these unearthed remains of the victims of persecution and avarice, after a long day's journey of 26 miles, in the course of which one of our party counted 107 of these skeletons." Under date of the 22d he observes, "During the last two days we had passed on an average from sixty to eighty or ninety skeletons each day; but the numbers that lay about the wells at El Hammar were countless; those of two women whose perfect and regular teeth bespoke them young, were particularly shocking; their arms still remained clasped round each other as they had expired."—p. 6—10.

Richard Lander, in his narrative of his journey from the interior of Africa, after the death of Captain Clapperton in 1826, mentions that he left Saccatoo with a large company, among whom was the king of Jacoby with 50 slaves. The company moving on rapidly, these slaves who carried heavy loads on their heads were unable to keep up with them, and were consequently left behind. Two days afterwards he was informed that the slaves not having overtaken the caravan, a company of horsemen was sent back in quest of them, who had just returned with an account of having found the bodies of 35 of them on the road. The other 15 had not been discovered, but were supposed also to have perished. The water was carried on the camels, and the poor slaves had doubtless died of thirst.—p. 337. 339.

These are a few of the shocking facts which abound in the narratives of travellers who have visited the interior of Africa. Whether the slaves were on their way to the ports frequented

by the traders of Europe and America or to those of Egypt or Tripoli, their sufferings and mortality must be very similar.

MORTALITY OF THE MIDDLE PASSAGE.

A LITTLE attention to the crowded condition in which the slaves are usually transported across the Atlantic, must convince any reasonable person that this transportation cannot fail to be attended by an awful waste of human life. To give the reader some faint idea of the horrors of the middle passage, it may be premised, that in W. Dolben's bill regulating the transportation of slaves, five men were allowed for every three tons, in ships under one hundred and fifty tons; and three men for two tons in ships of greater burden, the space between decks being in both cases, at least five feet; and it was found that in vessels thus freighted the bodies lay so close together as scarcely to leave any part of the floor uncovered. Clarkson's History of the Abo. of the Slave Trade. In the law of the United States for regulating passenger ships, enacted in 1819, only two passengers are allowed for every five tons. Laws of 1819, p. 37.

Bearing these things in mind, let us advert to the following cases.

In 1824 the following were sent into Sierra Leone.

The Diana, of 66 tons. No. of slaves 156, and a crew of 18. Height of the men's room 2 feet 7 in. Height of women's 3 feet 11 in.

The Brazilian Friends, 95 tons. No. of slaves 260. Height of men's room 2 feet 6 inches; do of women's 3 feet 10 inches.

The Aviso, of 165 tons. No. of slaves 465. Height of rooms 3 feet 2 in.

The whole number shipped in these three vessels was 881, of whom 712 were adults. 19th Rep. Af. Ins. p. 262, 3.

A few months previously the Lisboa was sent to the same port, having 336 slaves on board, though the tonnage was only 92. Ib. 275. In the following year this vessel was found by a British brig abandoned by her crew, with 31 negroes holding to the top of the main-mast; and ten more were cut out of the

side. The crew and 138 slaves had been taken off by another slaver, and the rest left to perish.—20th Report, p. 38.

In 1825 two Brazilian vessels were sent into Sierra Leone, one of 51 tons with 160 slaves, chiefly adults, the other of 82½ tons, with 285 slaves. In the same year a Spanish slaver measuring only 51 tons was captured, with 285 slaves on board. Near the same time two other Spanish slavers were sent into Sierra Leone, one of them measuring 41 tons, and the other 60. The former had 132 negroes, and the latter 135, crammed into a space capable of containing about 30 at full length. *Ibid.* 40. 42. 55. In the same year we have an account of 17 slaves, the remainder of 23, being found at sea, on board a schooner boat of five tons. The space allotted to these slaves was only 18 inches in height between the water casks and the deck. *Ibid.* p. 109.

If we turn to the recent accounts, we shall find that the same barbarous practice of crowding the vessels to suffocation is continued. The following account of the tonnage and cargoes of Spanish and Portuguese vessels condemned at Sierra Leone during the years 1837 and 1838, composing only a small part of the whole, may serve as a specimen. The tonnage it may be observed is generally given on the authority of the masters; and it is well known that the slavers frequently rate the tonnage of their ships considerably above its amount.

In 1837.—		Slaves.	
The Gata	32 tons cargo	111	Class A. 1837, p. 19
The Dolores	107 do do	314	30
Paquette Cabo Verde	182 do do	576	47
Josephina	120 do do	350	54
Latona	126 do do	325	56
Lafayette	184 do do	448	59
Providencia	60 do do	198	67
Vibora de Cabo Verde	100 do do	269	" Fur. Ser. 15
Florida	88 do do	296	20
Ligeira	78 do do	313	(four to a ton) 25
In 1838.—			
Deixa Falar	72 do do	210	Class A. 1839, 12
Arrogante	150 do do	473	30

			Slaves.	
Isabelita	36	do do	150	34
Felicidades	218	do do	559	43
Dons Irmaos	64	do do	305	68-70
Piova	91½	do do	225	74
Flor de Loando	90	do do	289	80

The American ship *Venus*, which in the beginning of 1839 landed 860 slaves in Cuba, and was said to be calculated to carry 1000, is stated at 460 tons.

Sometimes the efforts to conceal the slaves from discovery add greatly to their sufferings. A letter dated in 1826 from a British naval officer, mentions having boarded a vessel, under Dutch colours, with a view of examining her papers. The Captain represented her as laden with sugar, and after considerable search nothing to the contrary was discovered. Suspicion however being excited, one of the officers descended into the hold, where he at length perceived the leg of a black man under a curtain, on the removal of which 240 slaves were discovered. They were nearly starved, having only one day's provision on board; and a yam being thrown among them they fought for it like hungry dogs. They had been at sea 47 days, during which time sixty at least had died. 21st Rep. Af. Ins. p. 86.

In the same year, a British officer boarded a steam-boat which was supposed to be carrying newly imported Africans from one Spanish port to another. The Captain of the steamer denied having any negroes on board; and the passengers appeared to be ignorant whether there were or not. Upon descending into the hold, no person was to be seen; but upon removing some furniture from between the bulk heading which separated the steam boilers from the vessel's side, fourteen male negroes were discovered stowed beneath those articles and exposed to the intense heat arising from the lighted stoves. When these slaves were made to understand that their visitors intended to deliver them, their joy became unbounded; and one of the most intelligent pointed to the forepeak, where, after diligent search, six females were found under rope, sails and a hawser; the whole of which had evidently been coiled over

them for the purpose of concealment. The greater part of these slaves were afflicted with severe ophthalmia and nearly deprived of sight.—lb. p. 59.

In the recent parliamentary papers we have an account of the Spanish schooner *Vincendoza*, which arrived at Cadiz from the coast of Africa in the year 1837, with a number of slaves on board. These slaves were, no doubt, kept in the hold during their stay at Cadiz; for we find they were concealed during a passage from Cadiz to Porto Rico, from the sight and knowledge of the passengers taken in at the former port. On the voyage, the passengers were much annoyed by the effluvia arising from the vessel's hold but were not permitted to see the interior of it. At Porto Rico a number of these slaves were landed and the remainder brought out to view. On the passage from this island to Havana, the *Vincendoza* was detained by a British cruizer, when the number of slaves still on board was 26. It therefore appears that this number, besides those who were landed at Porto Rico, had been carried across the Atlantic concealed in the hold of a vessel ostensibly engaged in the packet service. Class A. 1837, pa. 38.

With regard to the number of deaths which occur in the voyages across the Atlantic, our information is often very uncertain, as the testimony on this subject is generally of a questionable character. A few cases will be noted in which the voyage was not longer than that usually performed by the slave vessels, and the care of their health likely to be greater. In the beginning of 1837, the Portuguese brigantine *Temerario*, was taken with 349 slaves who had just been shipped, and sent to Sierra Leone, where she arrived in 33 days; yet 98 died before they were landed, and 13 more in a few days afterwards. Class A. 1837, p. 51.

The *Cobra de Africa* was detained on the 27th of 5th month in the same year, with 162 slaves, and arrived at Sierra Leone on the 14th of the following month; and yet 52 had died on the voyage, and 44 of the survivors required hospital treatment. The vessel is stated at 110 tons, and of course was less crowded than slave ships usually are. The slaves however are said to have been confined in the baracoons about three months previous to embarkation.—Ibid. 62. The *Paquete de Cabo Verde*

was detained on the 11th of 1st month in the same year, and arrived at Sierra Leone on the 20th of the 2nd month. The number of slaves at the time of capture was 576; and the deaths previous to her arrival 106; with 112 requiring hospital treatment.—Ib. p. 47.

On the 23rd of 12th month, 1836, the Brazilian ship *Incomprehensivel* was captured about midway between the Cape of Good Hope and Rio Janeiro with a cargo of slaves, and sent to Sierra Leone, where they arrived on the 27th of the following month. According to the declaration of the master, he had shipped 785 slaves at Mozambique. When they arrived at Sierra Leone it appeared that 83 had died subsequent to the capture, and that 180 more required medical treatment. By the decree of the court the vessel was condemned, and the surviving slaves, 586, emancipated. It thus appears that 199 must have died between the time of embarkation and the condemnation of the vessel. Ib. 74. 83.

The Princeza Africano, with 222 slaves, was captured about the last of the year 1837, on the same day on which the slaves were embarked, and arrived at Sierra Leone in six days. An inspection of the slaves took place next day; when it was found, that although they had been only a week on board, there were 49 cases of disease among them, of which 33 were ophthalmia. Class A. 1839, pa. 11.

The Arrogante was captured 23rd of 11th month 1837, and conveyed to Montego bay, Jamaica. The whole voyage from Gallinas to Jamaica occupied 52 days; the number of slaves shipped was stated by the master to be 473; but the survivors delivered at Jamaica were only 332; showing 141 deaths out of 473 individuals, in less than two months.—Ib. 28. 30.

The Felicidades was detained on the 8th of 3rd month, 1838, with 559 slaves on board, who had been embarked three days before. The vessel arrived at Sierra Leone on the 7th of the following month; and notwithstanding every attention on the part of the captors, 134 of the slaves perished previous to their arrival, and 14 afterwards.—Ib. 42.

The destructive character of the middle passage is strikingly illustrated by the case of the Prova, which was captured in the summer of 1838, with 225 slaves on board, and taken to

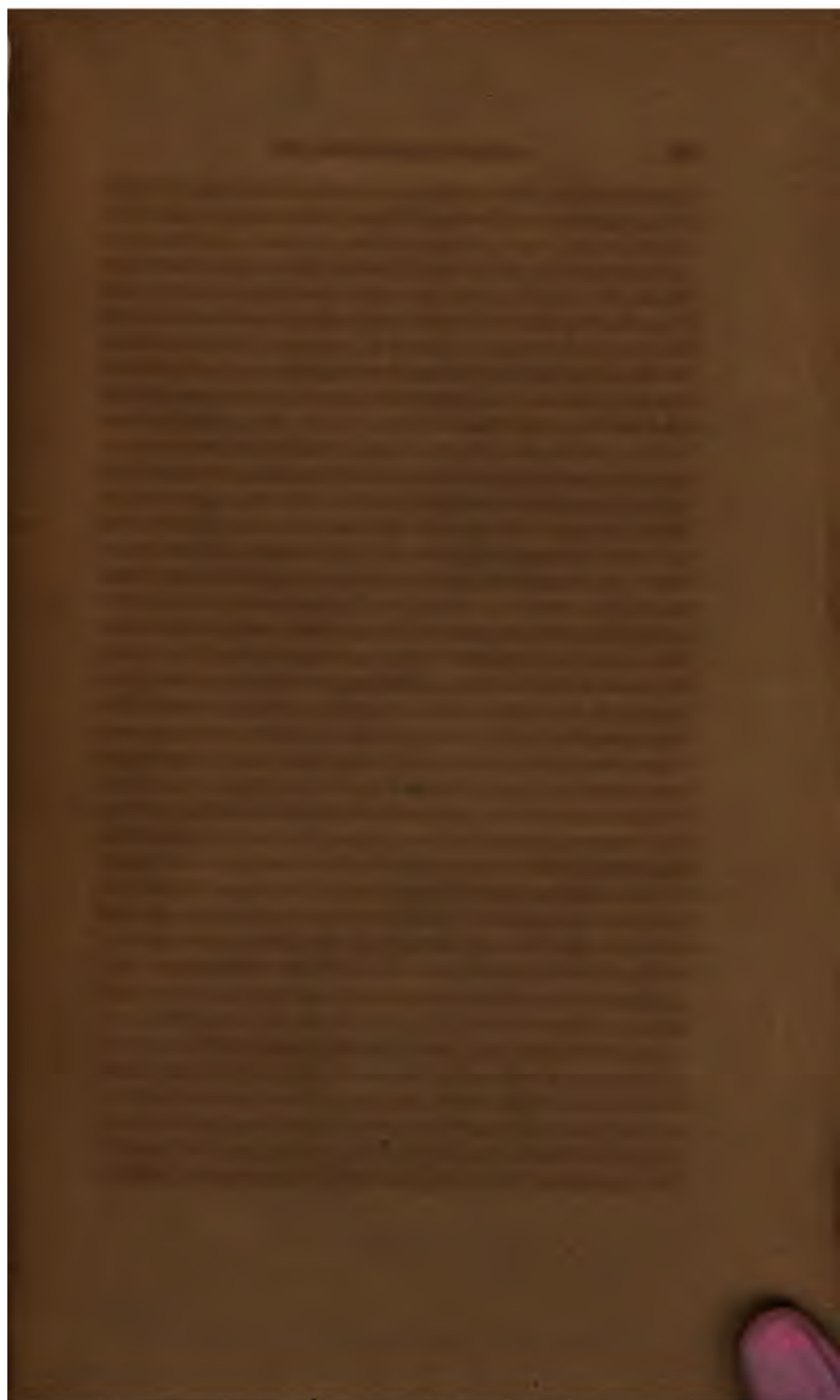
Sierra Leone. The clean and comparatively comfortable condition of the vessel and slaves is said to have reflected great credit on the officer who had charge of them ; and out of the 225 slaves, who were embarked just before the capture, only 20 died during a passage of twenty days. That is, only $8\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. had perished in 20 days. Now the usual mortality in a year is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It therefore appears that this naval officer, by very superior attention, and he probably did all that the nature of the case allowed, so far impeded the march of death, that about six days were required to take off as many as usually die in a year.—Ibid. p. 74.

Besides the usual causes of mortality, the slaves are exposed to greater danger, and to more frequent destruction from casualties incident to sea voyages. In case of the vessel being wrecked, the slaves, from their confined situation, have very little chance of escape. We have an account of the *Estella* schooner, with upwards of 300 slaves, being wrecked in the summer of 1838 on the coast of Jamaica. The crew it appears escaped to the shore, leaving the slaves and vessel on the shoal. They did not for some days, disclose the circumstances of the wreck, and when at length search was made, it was found that the slaves had all perished.—Ib. 11. Near the same time it appears a slaver arrived at Havana, the outline of whose history, given by the British judge at that place, is the following.

“She sailed it is said to Madagascar and Mozambique, and not finding any negroes on the coast to be bought, forcibly and piratically took from the other vessels engaged in the same errand, the cargoes they had collected, and gave the robbed vessels a quantity of gunpowder &c. with a recommendation for them to adopt the same course. Having thus got together about 560 negroes, the report further states, that before they got out of the range of the monsoons, they encountered very violent weather, which lasted two days, and compelled them to shut down the hatches, without being able, during that time to afford the slaves either air or food. The consequence was, that when the storm abated, and they went to examine their condition, they found that about 300 negroes had perished from suffocation and hunger, and with the ordinary mortality afterwards attending such voyages, they arrived here with only about 200 surviving.”—Ib.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

THE documents from which the preceding accounts are extracted, not only prove that up to a very recent date, an active and extensive traffic in slaves has been prosecuted, in which foreigners and American citizens are engaged ; that this traffic involves a fearful destruction of human life in every stage of its progress ; and that perjury and fraud, as well as cruelty, pervade this system of complicated wickedness ; but they afford reason to fear, that the government of the United States has failed to exercise its proper influence towards arresting this appalling evil. It is not easy to believe that so many vessels built in the United States, would be or could be engaged in this nefarious traffic under the protection of our national flag, if proper vigilance were exercised by all those who are required, by their official stations, to prevent the infraction or evasion of our laws. It appears indeed an extraordinary circumstance, that although more than twenty years have passed since this trade was declared to be piracy by the American government, and we have ample testimony that numerous vessels, really or ostensibly American, are engaged in it, we should scarcely ever hear of an instance in which these violators of our laws have been called to answer for their conduct. It is certainly a question demanding the serious consideration of those who are entrusted with the management of our national concerns, how far the great responsibility resting upon those who possess the power to arrest a system so abominable, and so awfully destructive to human life, as well as the obligation incurred by the pledge included in the treaty of Ghent, to use our best endeavours to promote the abolition of this traffic, have been regarded.





Friends — New England Yearly Meeting.

(2)

AN APPEAL

TO THE

PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY,
IN THE SOUTHERN STATES AND ELSEWHERE.

ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY:

BY

THE REPRESENTATIVES OF

THE YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS

FOR NEW ENGLAND.

PROVIDENCE:

PRINTED BY KNOWLES AND VOSE.

~~~~~  
1842.

Chapter 1

Introduction

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## AN APPEAL.

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It is the duty of those who are the professed followers of our Divine Master, to be concerned for the welfare of their fellow-professors, and for their steady advancement in the path prescribed by our Lord for all his servants to walk in; and it is their privilege to extend to them a word of caution or entreaty in a spirit of love and good will, which desires the peace and prosperity of the whole heritage of God. "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men," was the anthem sung by angels at the advent of the Messiah; and as we become partakers of his spirit, we, too, may be enabled to join in this angelic song.

It is, we trust, in Christian, brotherly love, and for the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness, and certainly not for the advancement of any temporal interest of our own, that we are induced, at this time, to present to our fellow-professors, of every denomination, this brief address on the subject of Slavery; and the freedom that we feel ourselves required to use in relation to it, will not, we hope, be deemed obtrusive, when we remember the intrinsic importance of the matter treated of, and call to mind the one faith and ground of hope of all true professors of Christianity. We are believers in one Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for the sins of the whole world. We believe in him as a risen Mediator, who ever liveth to make intercession for us. We believe in the promised Comforter, — the Spirit of Truth, — to

guide into all truth. We believe in a final day, when we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, to receive a reward for the deeds done in the body; and that it is not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, that shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but they who do the will of our Father, who is in heaven. It is they who have clothed the naked, fed the hungry, visited the sick, and showed mercy, that shall obtain mercy. These fundamental doctrines are, we trust, faithfully received by all those who have a hope of salvation in the Lord Jesus Christ, and they do acknowledge his holy precepts and commandments given forth for the observance of men as possessing obligatory and paramount authority to the present day. Among these binding injunctions is that universal rule which commends itself to the conscience of every man for its justice and wisdom — “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them” — a rule most comprehensive in its application, and eminently practical in its results. It extends to all whom God has created; and “He made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.” By creation the whole human family are brethren; they are all “concluded in unbelief;” they all stand in need of redemption; and Christ, in infinite love, died for all. All whom God made are the objects of his mercy; all are embraced in the means of salvation which he has appointed; and all, without distinction of caste or color, must stand before him at the day of judgment; and it is that you and we may appear with joy at his tribunal, and receive a gracious welcome into the mansions prepared for the righteous, that we are induced now to plead with you in love, and to entreat you to give a patient attention to what is presented for your solemn consideration.

It may be known to you that, at one time, there were of our fellow-members of the society of Friends those that held slaves, as some of you do at this day; and

while we would speak it with humility, we may, perhaps, be permitted to say, that we doubt not it was through the enlightening influence of the Holy Spirit upon their hearts, that they were enabled to see that this practice did not accord with that love which has been so mercifully extended to the children of men through their adorable Savior, and was inconsistent with his universal rule, which we have cited.

It is not our desire to revive any considerations which are calculated unprofitably to awaken your feelings, but we believe it to be the duty of us all candidly to contemplate the misery and suffering that are inseparably connected with slavery from its very beginning on the continent of Africa. It commences in exciting into action the worst passions of the human mind, inducing an awful destruction of life, cruel separation of friends, and dreadful sufferings on the part of survivors. Let us not be willing to hide from our view the terrible effects of the *foreign slave trade*, or attempt to screen ourselves from the responsibility that attaches to us under the plea that this traffic is interdicted by our government, and that all who are concerned in it are held as pirates by the laws of our land. The facts in the case incontestably prove that, while a market for slaves exists, the cupidity of degenerate and wicked men will devise means to evade the execution of these laws; and we deem it pertinent to our purpose to spread before you some well-authenticated statements, which tend to show the extent of the traffic, and to exhibit, in some degree, its wickedness and cruelty.

With the effects of slavery at *home* many of you are familiar. You are witnesses of its influences in their various bearings in all the relations of life. You are conversant with the degradation and wretchedness which, in a greater or less degree, always attend it. But its more remote consequences may escape observation, and we may even lose sight in the distance of the necessary

connection of *cause* and *effect*. It is a truth which we believe cannot be disproved, that to slavery, as a *cause*, is the slave trade to be traced, as an *effect*, with all its manifold misery and crime; and we would appeal to all those who are concerned in the one, whether its abandonment would not certainly produce the destruction of the other; and can those who are the supporters of *slavery*, consistently, or with hope of success, plead against the *slave trade*, its legitimate offspring, its bitter and natural fruit. Let us be willing to examine this subject as it is, and act as our consciences, enlightened by the truth, shall dictate.

The *extent* of the slave trade at the present day is much greater than could possibly be believed by those who have not informed themselves upon the subject. We avail ourselves of some of the authorities collected in a work recently published by Thomas Fowell Buxton, which we believe entitled to entire confidence — the work itself giving evidence of having been prepared with great care and candor, after much patient inquiry and investigation. It appears to be well established by this author, that, notwithstanding all that has been done to arrest this traffic, more than one hundred and fifty thousand human beings are annually conveyed from Africa across the Atlantic, and sold as slaves, being landed principally at some of the ports of Brazil and Cuba; and not less than fifty thousand more are required for the supply of the Mohammedan slave trade; — making a total of more than two hundred thousand persons who are annually torn from the land of their nativity and sold into perpetual slavery.\*

\* R. R. Gurley, the well-known advocate of the American Colonization Society, in a publication printed by him in England, in 1841, gives it as his opinion, from all the facts he could collect, that "nearly or quite half a million of wretched Africans, are annually torn from their homes, a moiety of whom perish in capture, during their march to the coast, in the holds of slave ships on their passage across the ocean, or during the first trials of toil and exposure in a foreign climate."

After having very fully established that his estimate of numbers does not exceed the truth, Buxton proceeds to say, "Hitherto I have stated less than the half of this dreadful case. I am now going to show that, besides the two hundred thousand annually carried into captivity, there are claims on our compassion for almost countless cruelties and murders growing out of the slave trade. I am about to prove that this multitude of our enslaved fellow-men is but the remnant of numbers vastly greater, the survivors of a still larger multitude over whom the slave trade spreads its devastating hand, and that for every *ten* who reach Cuba or Brazil, and become available as slaves, *fourteen*, at least, are destroyed. This mortality arises from the following causes:—

"1st. The original seizure of the slaves.

"2d. The march to the coast, and detention there.

"3d. The middle passage.

"4th. The sufferings after capture, and after landing; and

"5th. The initiation into slavery, or the 'seasoning,' as it is termed by the planters." The original seizure of the slaves causes a great part of the continent of Africa to be "a field of warfare and desolation, a wilderness in which the inhabitants are wolves to each other." "On the authority of public documents, parliamentary evidence, and the works of African travellers, it appears that the principal and almost the only cause of war in the interior of Africa, is the desire to procure slaves for traffic; and that every species of violence, from the invasion of an army to that of robbery by a single individual, is had recourse to for the attainment of this object." \* \* \* \*

"William Wilberforce, in his letter to his constituents in 1807, has described the mode in which slaves are usually obtained in Africa; and, after speaking of the dreadful and exterminating wars that are often waged by one tribe upon another, he remarks,—

"In another part of the country, we learn from the



most respectable testimony, that a practice prevails, called *village breaking*. The village is attacked in the night ; if deemed needful to increase the confusion, it is set on fire, and the wretched inhabitants, as they are flying naked from the flames, are seized and carried into slavery.

"These depredations are far more commonly perpetrated by the natives on each other, and on a larger or smaller scale, according to the power and number of the assailants, and the resort of ships to the coast ; it prevails so generally as throughout the whole extent of Africa to render person and property utterly insecure." \* \* "Every man who has acquired any considerable property, or who has a large family, the sale of which will produce a considerable profit, excites in the chieftain near whom he resides, the same longings which are called forth in the wild beast by the exhibition of his proper prey ; and he himself lives in a continual state of suspicion and terror." The statements of Wilberforce have been corroborated by Bryan Edwards, himself a dealer in slaves, and an able and persevering advocate for the continuance of the traffic. In a speech delivered in the Jamaica assembly, he says, "I am persuaded that Wilberforce has been very rightly informed as to the manner in which slaves are very generally procured. The intelligence I have collected from my own negroes abundantly confirms his account ; and I have not the smallest doubt that in Africa the effects of this trade are precisely such as he represents them to be."

"But, it may be said, admitting these statements to be true, they refer to a state of things in Africa which does not *now* exist. A considerable period of time has indeed elapsed since these statements were made ; but it clearly appears, that the same system has obtained, throughout the interior of Africa, down to the present time ; nor is it to be expected that any favorable change will take place during the continuance of the slave traffic."

"Professor Smith, who accompanied Captain Tuckey in the expedition to the Congo, in 1816, says, 'Every man I have conversed with acknowledges that, if white men did not come for slaves, the wars, which, nine times out of ten, result from the European slave trade, would be proportionally less frequent.'

"Captain Lyon states that, when he was at Fezzan, in 1819, Mukni, the reigning sultan, was continually engaged in these slave hunts, in one of which eighteen hundred were captured, all of whom, excepting a very few, either perished on their march before they reached Fezzan, or were killed by their captor." \* \* \* \*

"We have obtained most valuable information as to the interior of Africa from the laborious exertions of Denham and Clapperton. They reached Soudan, or Nigritia, by the land route through Fezzan and Bornou, in 1823, and the narration of their journey furnishes many melancholy proofs of the miseries to which Africa is exposed through the demands for the slave trade. Major Denham says, 'On attacking a place, it is the custom of the country instantly to fire it, and, as they (the villages) are all composed of straw huts only, the whole is shortly devoured by the flames. The unfortunate inhabitants fly quickly from the devouring element, and fall immediately into the hands of their no less merciless enemies, who surround the place; the men are quickly massacred, and the women and children lashed together and made slaves.'

"Denham tell us that the Begharmi nation had been discomfited by the sheik of Bornou, in five different expeditions, when at least twenty thousand poor creatures were slaughtered, and three fourths of that number, at least, driven into slavery. And in speaking of these wars, he uses this remarkable expression, — 'The season of the year had arrived, (25th November,) when the sovereigns of these countries go out to battle.' Commodore Owen, who was employed in the survey of the eastern coast of

Africa, about the years of 1823 and 1824, says, 'The riches of Quilimane consisted in a trifling degree of gold and silver, but principally of grain, which was produced in such quantities as to supply Mozambique. But the introduction of the slave trade stopped the pursuits of industry, and changed those places, where peace and agriculture had formerly reigned, into the seat of war and bloodshed.

"Contending tribes are now continually striving to obtain, by mutual conflict, prisoners as slaves for sale to the Portuguese, who excite those wars, and fatten on the blood and wretchedness they produce."

"In speaking of Inhambane, he says; 'The slaves they do obtain are the spoils of war among the petty tribes, who, were it not for the market they thus find for their prisoners, would, in all likelihood, remain in peace with each other, and probably be connected by bonds of mutual interest.'"

"Ashmun, agent of the American Colonial Society, in writing to the Board of Directors from Liberia, in 1823, says, 'The following incident I relate, not for its singularity, for similar events take place, perhaps, every month in the year; but it has fallen under my own observation, and I can vouch for its authenticity: King Boatswain, our most powerful supporter, and steady friend among the natives, (so he has uniformly shown himself,) received a quantity of goods on trust from a French slaver, for which he stipulated to pay young slaves; he makes it a point of honor to be punctual to his engagements. The time was at hand when he expected the return of the slaver, and he had not the slaves. Looking around on the peaceable tribes about him for his victims, he singled out the Queaks, a small agricultural and trading people, of most inoffensive character. His warriors were skilfully distributed to the different hamlets, and, making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping occupants in the dead of

the night, accomplished, without difficulty or resistance, in one hour, the annihilation of the whole tribe: every adult man and woman was murdered; every hut fired; very young children generally shared the fate of their parents; the boys and girls alone were reserved to pay the Frenchman.' ”

From a letter of McBrair, a Wesleyan missionary, recently addressed to the secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, we make the following extract: — “On other occasions, a party of men-hunters associate together, and, falling suddenly on a small town or village during the night, they massacre all the men that offer any resistance, and carry away the rest of the inhabitants as the best parts of their spoil; — or, when a chieftain thinks himself sufficiently powerful, he makes the most frivolous excuses for waging war upon his neighbor, so that he may spoil his country of its inhabitants. Having been in close connection with many of the liberated Africans in McCarthy’s Island, two hundred and fifty miles up the Gambia, and also in St. Mary’s, at the mouth of that river, we had many opportunities of learning the various modes in which they had been captured, from which it appeared that the wholesale method of seizure is by far the most frequent, and that without this plan a sufficient number of victims could not be procured for the market; so that it may be called the prevailing way of obtaining slaves.” After many other citations from various authorities as to the cruelty and bloodshed incident to the seizure of slaves, Buxton proceeds to state, — “I could add, were it necessary, a thousand other instances of the scenes of cruelty and bloodshed which are exhibited in Africa, having their origin in the slave trade; but enough has been said to prove the assertion with which I set out, — that the principal and almost the only cause of war, in the interior of Africa, is the desire to procure slaves for traffic, and that the only difference betwixt the former times and

the present day is this, — that the mortality consequent on the cruelties of the system has increased in proportion to the increase of the traffic, which, it appears, has doubled in amount, as compared with the period antecedent to 1790."

The next cause of mortality, after the *seizure*, is the cruelty exercised in the march of the slave and his detention previous to embarkation. "The slaves are commonly secured by putting the right leg of one and the left of another into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string, they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the neck, with a strong pair of twisted thongs; and in the night, an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed around their necks." "Such of them as evince marks of discontent are secured in a different manner; a thick billet of wood is cut, about three feet long, and, a smooth notch being made on one side of it, the ankle of the slave is bolted to the smooth part by means of a strong iron staple, one prong of which passes on each side of the ankle."

In this cruel manner are they forced to travel from the interior of the country to the coast, subjected to every privation and misery; so that it is estimated, from the most accurate computation that has been attained, that the number of those *who die on the journey alone is equal to five twelfths of the whole*. While detained at the coast waiting for embarkation, from want of sufficient food, from close confinement, and other causes, diseases of a most fatal character often supervene, producing a frightful mortality; so that, in every stage of this dreadful traffic, we find the lives of its victims are continually sacrificed.


We next advert to the *middle passage*, as it is termed, or the transportation of the slaves across the Atlantic; and the sufferings here revealed are truly of the most appalling character, fully justifying, as we apprehend, the language used by William Wilberforce, in 1807. "The stings of a

wounded conscience man cannot inflict ; but nearly all which man can do to make his fellow-creatures miserable, without defeating his purpose by putting a speedy end to their existence, will still be here effected ; and it will still continue true, that never can so much misery be found condensed into so small a space as in a slave ship during the middle passage."

"The first feature of this deadly passage," says Buxton, "which attracts our attention, is the evident insufficiency, in point of tonnage, of the vessels employed for the cargoes of human beings which they are made to contain."

"We have a faithful description of the miseries of the middle passage, from the pen of an eye-witness, Falconbridge. His account refers to a period antecedent to 1790. He tells us that 'The men negroes, on being brought aboard ship, are immediately fastened together, two and two, by handcuffs on their wrists, and by irons riveted on their legs.' 'They are frequently stowed so close as to admit of no other posture than lying on their sides. Neither will the height between decks, unless directly under the grating, permit them the indulgence of an erect posture, especially where there are platforms, which is generally the case. These platforms are a kind of shelf, about eight or nine feet in breadth, extending from the side of the ship towards the centre. They are placed nearly midway between the decks, at the distance of two or three feet from each deck. Upon these the negroes are stowed in the same manner as they are on the deck underneath.' \* \* \* \*

"In favorable weather they are fed upon deck, but in bad weather their food is given to them below. Numberless quarrels take place among them during their meals ; more especially when they are put upon short allowance, which frequently happens. In that case, the weak are obliged to be content with a very scanty portion. Their allowance of water is about half a pint each at every meal.



Upon the negroes refusing to take sustenance, I have seen coals of fire, glowing hot, put on a shovel, and placed so near their lips as to scorch and burn them ; and this has been accompanied with threats of forcing them to swallow the coals, if they any longer persisted in refusing to eat." He proceeds to notice the case of a Liverpool vessel, which took on board, at the Bonny River, nearly seven hundred slaves, (more than three to each ton !) and Falconbridge says, "By purchasing so great a number, the slaves were so crowded that they were even obliged to lie one upon another. This occasioned such a mortality among them, that, without meeting with unusual bad weather, or having a longer voyage than common, nearly one half of them died before the ship arrived in the West Indies." He then describes the treatment of the sick as follows : — "The place allotted to the sick negroes is under the half deck, where they lie on the bare plank. By this means, those who are emaciated frequently have their skin, and even their flesh, entirely rubbed off, by the motion of the ship, from the prominent parts of the shoulders, elbows, and hips, so as to render the bones in those parts quite bare. The excruciating pain which the poor sufferers feel from being obliged to continue in so dreadful a situation, frequently, for several weeks, in case they happen to live so long, is not to be conceived or described. Few, indeed, are ever able to withstand the fatal effects of it. The surgeon, on going between decks in the morning, frequently finds several of the slaves dead, and among the men, sometimes a dead and a living negro fastened by their irons together."

We omit many of the statements of Falconbridge, who was a surgeon on board a slave ship, because we do not wish to dwell unnecessarily upon this painful scene. The cruelties enacted in the middle passage upon the slaves have increased to an awful extent, since the trade has become contraband by the laws of nations, from the

fact of a different class of vessels being now employed than formerly, — those that have much less capacity for the accommodation of their human cargoes, in consequence of their construction being such as to render them the most rapid sailers, that they may outsail or avoid the armed vessels that are often engaged in pursuing them.

“Laird, in his journal of the recent expedition to the Niger, says, ‘Instead of the large and commodious vessels which it would be the interest of the slave trader to employ, we have, by our interference, forced him to use a class of vessels (well known to naval men as *American clippers*) of the very worst description that could have been imagined, for the purpose, every quality being sacrificed for speed. In the holds of these vessels the unhappy victims of European cupidity are stowed literally in bulk.’ \* \* \* \* “As a proof of the increase in the mortality on the middle passage, I may adduce,” says Buxton, “the evidence of Jackson, (who had been a judge in the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone,) before the committee on Sierra Leone, in 1830. In answer to a question, he said, ‘I think the sufferings of these poor slaves are greatly aggravated by the course now adopted; for the trade is now illegal, and, therefore, whatever is done is done clandestinely: they are packed more like bales of goods on board than human beings, and the general calculation is, that if, in three adventures, one succeeds, the owners are well paid.’”

Dr. Walsh, in his “Notes of Brazil,” gives the following account of a Spanish slaver detained by the vessel of war, in which he returned from Brazil, in 1829. He says, “When we mounted her decks, we found her full of slaves; she had taken on board five hundred and sixty-two, and had been out seventeen days, during which she lost fifty-five. The slaves were all enclosed under grated hatchways between decks. The space was so low that they sat between each other’s legs, and stowed so close



together that there was no possibility of their lying down, or at all changing their position by night or day. As they belonged to and were shipped on account of different individuals, they were all branded, like sheep, with the owners marks, of different forms. These were impressed under their breasts or on their arms; and, as the mate informed me with perfect indifference, burnt with a red-hot iron.

"The poor beings were all turned up together; they came swarming up like bees from the aperture of a hive, till the whole deck was crowded to suffocation from stem to stern. On looking into the places where they had been crammed, there were found some children next to the sides of the ship. The little creatures seemed indifferent as to life or death, and, when they were carried on deck, many of them could not stand; some water was brought; it was then that the extent of their sufferings was exposed in a fearful manner. They all rushed like maniacs towards it; no entreaties, or threats, or blows, could restrain them; they shrieked, and struggled, and fought with one another for a drop of the precious liquid, as if they grew rabid at the sight of it. There is nothing which slaves, during the middle passage, suffer from so much as want of water. It is sometimes usual to take out casks filled with sea-water as ballast, and, when the slaves are received on board, to start the casks and refill them with fresh. On one occasion, a ship from Bahia neglected to change the contents of the casks, and on the mid-passage, found, to their horror, that they were filled with nothing but sea-water. All the slaves on board perished! We could judge of the extent of their sufferings from the sight we now saw. When the poor creatures were ordered down again, several of them came and pressed their heads against our knees, with looks of the greatest anguish, at the prospect of returning to the horrid place of suffering below. It was not surprising that they had lost fifty-five in the space of seventeen days.

Indeed, many of the survivors were seen lying about the decks in the last stage of emaciation, and in a state of filth and misery not to be looked at. While expressing my horror at what I saw, and exclaiming against the state of this vessel, I was informed by my friends, who had passed so long a time on the coast of Africa, and visited so many ships, that this was one of the best they had seen. The height sometimes between decks was only eighteen inches; so that the unfortunate beings could not turn round, or even on their sides, the elevation being less than the breadth of their shoulders; and here they are usually chained to the decks by the neck and legs. After much deliberation, this wretched vessel was allowed to proceed on her voyage. It was dark when we separated; and the last parting sounds we heard from the unhallowed ship were the cries and shrieks of the slaves suffering under some bodily infliction."

We give a few more extracts on this subject from the many details that might be cited. The *Carolina*, captured in 1834, off Wydah. "This vessel was only seventy-five tons' burden, yet she had three hundred and fifty negroes crammed on board of her, one hundred and eighty of whom were literally so stowed as to have barely sufficient height to hold themselves up, when in a sitting posture. The poor creatures crowded around their deliverers, with their mouths open and their tongues parched for want of water, presenting a perfect spectacle of human misery."

"In a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, of date 20th January, 1837, we find it stated that her Majesty's brig *Dolphin* had lately captured the corvette *Incomprehensible*, and that, on taking possession of her, the scene presented on board was harrowing in the extreme. One hundred had died of sickness, of the eight hundred embarked; another hundred were lying nearly lifeless on her decks, in wretchedness and misery, and all the agony of despair;

the remaining six hundred were so cramped from the close manner in which they were packed, (like herrings in a barrel,) and the length of time they had been on their voyage, and the cold they had endured in rounding the cape, in a state of nudity, that it took the utmost exertions of the English sailors, favored by a hot sun, to straighten them."

In the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette* of 2d of 6th month, 1838, is the following paragraph:—"A letter from the Snake sloop of war, dated 31st March, 1838, says, 'We have captured a very fine schooner, called the Arogan, off Cape Antonio, having three hundred and fifty slaves, of both sexes, under the age of twenty, and have sent her into the Havana for adjudication. She cleared out from Gallinas, and lost fifty on her passage by death, owing to the crowded manner in which they were packed, resembling goods in a draper's shop.'"

"In the parliamentary papers printed last year by the House of Commons, the following, among other cases, are reported:—"The brig Don Manuel de Portugal, from Angola, embarked six hundred slaves; of these seventy-three died on the voyage." "Brig Adamastor, from Quilimane, embarked eight hundred slaves; of these three hundred and four died on the voyage." "Brig Leao, from Quilimane, embarked eight hundred and fifty-five slaves; of these two hundred and eighty-three died, or were thrown overboard alive, during the voyage. The small-pox having appeared among the slaves, thirty of them were immediately thrown overboard alive; afterwards the measles made its appearance, of which two hundred and fifty-three died. The remaining slaves, five hundred and seventy-two in number, were landed on the coast of Brazil, at Mozambayo, near to Ilha Grande, but in so miserable a state that the greater part could not walk, but were carried on shore."

If to the mortality arising from the causes already ad-

verted to during the middle passage, we add the lives destroyed by shipwreck, it will appear that not less than twenty-five per cent. of all those embarked perish during their voyage. Nor does the mortality cease when they are disembarked; but after landing, and in the 'seasoning,' not less than twenty per cent. are destroyed; and it would appear by as careful computations as have been made, that there is no exaggeration in estimating the mortality of the slave trade as follows:—

- |                                        |               |
|----------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Seizure, march, and detention,      | 100 per cent. |
| 2. Middle passage, and after capture,  | 25   “        |
| 3. After landing and in the seasoning, | 20   “        |
|                                        | <hr/> 145     |

so that, for every 1000 negroes alive at the end of a year after their deportation, and available to the planter, we have a sacrifice of 1450.”

From the African Repository, of 8th month, 15th, 1841, we make the following extract, viz. :—

“We cannot too often, nor too solemnly, call the attention of our readers to the fact, that the slave trade, in all its infamy, is, at the present moment, going on and flourishing, and extending to a most lamentable degree. \* \* \* It is computed that, at this very moment, *twenty thousand* human beings, crowded in the small and narrow slave ships, are floating on the ocean between the land from which they have been torn, and the mart to which they are destined. What a stream of horror! what cries, what groans, must fill the air along their whole course! How many are just breathing their last! How many just cast overboard! Who can number the accumulated horrors on which the sun must daily look?”

Again, from the same periodical, we extract the following:—“When a slaver is chased by a cruiser, and is in danger of being seized, she must be lightened. And as the slaves on board are less valuable than any other part of the cargo, the heaviest of them are thrown overboard first. If

more is necessary in trying to escape the pursuing cruiser, men, women, and children, are hurried overboard without remorse, and in numbers proportionate to the danger. In some instances, when seizure becomes certain, every slave on board is thrown over, in the hope that the cruiser, finding no chance for head-money, will let her pass, and then she can return to port, take on board another cargo, and try again. The slaves are thrown over with the fetters that were placed on them before they were brought on board. To lessen the chance of their escape, they are sometimes cast in, fetters and all, in large companies; and to insure their sinking before the cruiser can come and pick them up, weights are sometimes added to sink them immediately. But this is not the only mode of lightening the vessel. Often three or four slaves are crowded into a cask, which is thrown over with weights attached to it. One vessel threw over twelve such casks before she was captured. One vessel had five hundred slaves on board, and threw them all over. These scenes occur principally on the Western African station; and it is said that even the sharks know this field of bloodshed, and are often known to follow the slave ship from the port."

Appalling as is the view that has been presented of the foreign slave trade, it becomes us to contemplate it, and to remember that it is not probable any means can be devised to arrest this awful waste of human life, these multiplied and dreadful sufferings, while, by the continuance of slavery, a reward is offered to stimulate the avarice of wicked men.

Nor are the miseries and heart-rending separations incident to the *internal traffic* that is prosecuted in our own country, to be passed lightly over in the catalogue of evils connected with slavery.\* Notwithstanding it may be the

\* Many and strong are the points of resemblance between the African and American slave trade. Witness the manner in which the slaves are secured when driven through the country, or transported by sea, and the manifold sufferings to which they are subjected.

intention of many who hold slaves to prevent, in the prosecution of this traffic, the separation of families, the sundering of the domestic ties which bind hearts together, whether high or low, rich or poor, bond or free, yet it is not always in their power to avert the parting of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister. Their care to prevent these cruel separations, even when thus attempted to be exercised, does not and cannot always avail. Your daily observation shows you that they are often perpetrated; and bringing home the universal Christian rule, which it is our duty to keep always before us, how could we endure to have a parent, a child, or a bosom friend, torn from us, and plunged into uncertain but hopeless and bitter bondage.\*

It may not be necessary for us to point out the evils of slavery as it exists in our land. We need not offer an argument to prove what is self-evident, — its inconsistency with the universal, golden rule, and that, in the observance of this rule, the highest interest of man is promoted. But even could we disregard our future happiness in connection with this question, and limit ourselves to that which will conduce to our present quiet and the promotion of our temporal interest, we cannot doubt but that these would eventually be greatly promoted by the exchange of the forced and tardy toil of the *bondman* for the requited, cheerful labor of the *freeman*. The experiment of emancipation, wherever it has been fairly tried, incontestably proves this. It has ceased to be matter of doubt and speculation, but

\* President Dew of William and Mary College, Virginia, in his celebrated attempted defence of slavery, makes the following observation :—“ We have made some efforts to obtain something like an accurate account of the number of negroes every year carried out of Virginia to the south and west. We have not been enabled to succeed completely ; but from the best information we can obtain, we have no hesitation in saying that upwards of six thousand are yearly exported to other states. Virginia is in fact a negro-raising state for other states ; she produces enough for her own supply, and six thousand for sale.”

has already become established as history by the testimony of many intelligent, unimpeachable witnesses.

Would we secure present quiet, unmolested peace, and undisturbed fireside enjoyments? Let us put away the causes that now interrupt them, by an honest endeavor to do as we would be done by. Then shall we receive from those befriended a practical reciprocation of this governing principle, and our hearts will be daily gladdened and made to rejoice in the smiles of gratitude and confidence which on every hand will meet us.

To *parents* we would most earnestly appeal. Are you willing your precious children should continue to be educated under the influences of slavery? What are the habits they are prone to form? what the consequences of the examples that are daily exhibited to them? what the effects upon their moral and religious lives? Oh! let us remember that unto God are we to give an account for the lambs he has intrusted to our charge; and we solemnly ask you, and entreat you to view it in all soberness, — do you believe that the continuance of slavery is calculated, in its varied results, to conduce to the prosperity of your beloved children in this present life, or to promote their hopes of happiness in the life to come? or, does it not rather inevitably tend to induce habits of indolence, indulgence, and vice, which lessen their present usefulness, and peril their future hopes? Parent, art thou willing to leave thy child involved in these fearful responsibilities? We conjure thee, as thou lovest him, ponder this subject well.

We are fully aware that there are many who hold slaves that deprecate *slavery*, but who see clearly no way of escaping from it. We feel tenderly for these, and would offer them the language of encouragement to attend to plainly manifested duty. Pray for an increase of faith. Our heavenly Father doth not require that of us which he will not enable us to perform. He hath all power in heaven and in earth, and he will remove difficulties from the way

of those who are concerned, above all things else, to know and do his will. It is a truth of the most serious moment, and which we desire should be impressed deeply upon our hearts, that *upon the professors of Christianity devolves the responsibility of the continuance of slavery in our land.* Let these cease to tolerate it among their own members; let them exert their influence against it, and it will no longer continue to tarnish the name of our common country.

We again repeat, that he who calleth us to the discharge of any duty, will make a way for us if we look in faith unto him for help. What has been done by a portion of the Christian community may be done by all. We would speak very humbly of our own religious society, and of the course pursued by them in relation to slavery; and yet, for your encouragement in freeing yourselves from the evil, we think it right to advert to it. Our forefathers, and some of those still living, in advanced life, who held slaves, were brought to see, and feel too, that it was not for them to keep their fellow-beings in bondage, and yet consistently to profess to be the followers of Him, who, through the mouth of the prophet, hath declared this to be the fast that he hath chosen, "to loose the bands of wickedness; to undo the heavy burdens; and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke." And when this was made evident to them, they dared not consult with flesh and blood, but, in confiding reliance upon God, they proceeded to liberate all whom they had held in bondage; and He who, they doubted not, required this of them as their religious duty, did indeed enable them to accomplish it, and, we reverently believe, abundantly blessed them therein; and unto Him may all confidently look for a blessing upon their honest endeavors faithfully to do his will on earth.

And now, in conclusion, we desire very impressively, in the love of the gospel, to bring home to every bosom the solemn query, — Are my hands clean, in the sight of God, of



the blood of my brother? Let us investigate the subject with hearts reverently turned unto the Author of all good, and with fervent aspirations that the truth may illuminate our understandings, and that it may now be presented to us in that light in which it will appear at the day of final judgment. May we continually remember the declaration of Holy Writ, "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not, doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works?"

May the God of all grace and consolation bless us, and enable us clearly to perceive our duty and faithfully to pursue it, that we may experience the verification of the ancient promise, "Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy re-reward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am."

Signed, on behalf and by direction of a meeting of the Representatives of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, held at Providence, Rhode Island, the 2d of the 2d month, 1842.

SAMUEL BOYD TOBEY, *Clerk.*

(3)

AN ADDRESS  
OF  
FRIENDS  
OF THE  
YEARLY MEETING OF NEW-YORK,  
TO THE  
CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ESPECIALLY TO THOSE OF THE SOUTHERN STATES,  
UPON THE  
SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

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NEW-YORK:  
PRESS OF MAHLON DAY & CO., 374 PEARL-STREET.  
JAMES EGBERT... Printer.  
1844.



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## AN ADDRESS ON SLAVERY.

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FELLOW CITIZENS:

ACCEPTING it as an undoubted truth, that it is "Righteousness 'which exalteth a nation,'" and firmly believing that the tranquillity and prosperity of Governments depend in a great degree upon a scrupulous adherence to the dictates of this ennobling principle, we are concerned to call the attention of the public, and more especially the citizens of the South, to a serious consideration of the condition of that numerous portion of American population held in a state of unconditional and interminable servitude. We regard the subject as being of a very grave character, not only affecting the civil and social condition of millions of persons, who by the strong arm of power are deprived of the enjoyment of those rights and privileges, without which, man, noble as he is by creation, loses his native character, and sinks to the condition of a chattel, but also affecting in a pecuniary view the interest of a large portion of the citizens of the United States, and as we believe, intimately connected with the peace and prosperity of our whole country—the stability of its government, and the harmony of its public councils:

We are sensible that it is a subject, not only of great magnitude, but that it is also one of great delicacy, and we approach it with a feeling which prompts us to desire the advancement of the best interests of the master, while we plead for the release of the slave. We can readily believe there are many owners of slaves who are dissatisfied with the system of slavery, and desire its extinction. They feel

themselves burdened, and yet as individuals, may think they have not strength to throw it from them. We sympathise with such wherever their lots may be. We know that slavery did not originate with those whom we now address, but that it is the offspring of a darker age—that it has descended from preceding generations as an established condition, and may, to a certain extent, be said to have forced itself upon those who are their successors. And thus it is probable many find themselves in a position with respect to slaves, which they would not of choice have assumed. We willingly allow all the extenuation which considerations such as these can furnish. It is not our purpose to reproach the master, but to plead for the slave. We ask then, a patient hearing, and that we may calmly reason together.

If there be truth in the language so solemnly put forth in the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America, that "All men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," it must be admitted that slavery is a grievous infringement of those rights. And if we estimate the extent of injury it inflicts by supposing ourselves, our friends, or our children the subjects of its operation, surely the strongest language would be quite inadequate to describe the amount of evil connected with the system, and the act would be regarded as calling loudly for retributive justice upon the aggressors. And why, let us earnestly ask, is not this a correct conclusion in relation to those upon whom the system is at present operating? It is a rule for judging which the gospel suggests, and as Christians we ought to respect it. It is also a view of the subject which has been entertained by many who were eminent as statesmen, some of whom have left their sentiments upon record for the benefit of posterity. And would it be wise in us,

their successors, to forget or neglect them? They regarded the system as evil in itself, and as fraught with danger to the rising republic. So deeply impressed were those eminent men who framed the Constitution of the Union, with the incompatibility of slavery with republican principles, that they could not consent that the obnoxious word should have a place in that instrument. And he who is styled the Father of his country, though he held slaves while he lived, left them free in his will, thereby bearing his dying testimony in favor of emancipation.

The language of that eminent statesman, Thomas Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, is remarkable both for its justness and its force. He asks, "Can the liberties of a nation be secure, when we have removed their only firm basis, a *conviction* in the minds of the people that these *liberties* are the *gift* of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become *probable by supernatural interference*. The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest."

There is something peculiarly solemn in this language. It seems like a warning voice designed to call us back to a sense of duty. It is known that he had long been impressed with a conviction of the injustice, impolicy and dangerous tendency of this Institution of the South. As early as 1784, he was advocating the cause of freedom in Congress. And in a draft of a Constitution for the State of Virginia, drawn by him, provision was made for the emancipation of slaves in that State, in the year 1800, by declaring that all born after that time should be free. In these generous efforts, however, it was his lot to meet with defeat.



But so earnest was the engagement of Thomas Jefferson for the promotion of this cause, that he addressed a letter to Doctor Price of London, who had written a treatise upon slavery, asking him to address an exhortation on the subject of the abolition of slavery to the young men of William and Mary's College in Virginia, who were preparing for public life, hoping it might be decisive of the question in that State, which he declared would be the "*State* where the interesting spectacle would be presented of *Justice* in conflict with *Avarice* and *Oppression*." And so late in his life as the year 1814, in reply to a letter from a friend who it seems had urged him to renew his efforts in the cause of emancipation, he declares his continued conviction that "the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time," and adds, "This enterprize is for the young, for those who can bear it through to its consummation. It shall have all my prayers, and those are the only weapons of an old man. It is an encouraging observation, that no good measure was ever proposed, which, if duly pursued, failed to prevail in the end. And you will be supported by the religious precept, 'be not weary in well doing.'"

Surely the sentiments above quoted, emanating from such a source, and sustained by such weight of character, should receive the most serious consideration. How consistent are his views; and how solemn his conclusions. Regarding *liberty* as the gift of God to man, he infers that it may not be violated without incurring the wrath of the giver. And looking forward to the possible continuance of this violation of rights, and connecting the thought that God is just, and that his justice cannot always sleep—adverting also to the operation of natural causes, and the probability of supernatural interference in favor of the oppressed—he is affected with the most solemn concern—he trembles for his country. Would that any effort of ours

could tend to impress this concern upon the minds of those in whose hands are entrusted, at the present time, the destinies of our beloved country !

Equally strong is the language of William Pinkney, delivered in the House of Delegates of Maryland in 1789, in reply, it would seem, to arguments designed to ward off the weight of responsibility from the actors of that day, and place it upon their ancestors. And we would recommend his sentiments to the serious consideration of all who are disposed to shelter themselves under a course of reasoning of this kind. "Wherefore," says he, "should we confine the edge of censure to our ancestors, or those from whom they purchased ? Are *we* not equally guilty ? They strewed around the seeds of slavery. We cherish and sustain the growth. They introduced the system. We enlarge, invigorate and confirm it. Its continuance is as shameful as its origin. By the eternal principles of natural justice, no master in the State has a right to hold his slave in bondage for a single hour. Sir, the thing is *impolitic* ; never will your country be productive ; never will its agriculture, its commerce, or its manufactures flourish, so long as they depend upon reluctant bondmen for their progress."

The names of other eminent statesmen who entertained similar views might be inserted, but we know not that any thing could add force to the sentiments already presented. We think it cannot fail to be interesting, to observe the manner in which great men of an age that has passed away, regarded the subject of which we are treating. They concur in speaking of slavery as it then existed, in plain and strong terms, as being wrong in itself, impolitic, and of dangerous tendency. And we fear that its features are but slightly, if at all, ameliorated at this day. The foreign slave trade indeed, has since that time been abolished, and as far as our government is concerned, we

hope it may be considered as suppressed. But an internal traffic of a similar character, and to a considerable extent, is still carried on between different States of this Union—perhaps less marked than the foreign, with the extreme of human suffering, but still cruel and unrighteous. The most tender connections are liable to be severed, and families to be separated and scattered, never more to meet. Ah! and the helpless and pitiable objects are collected in droves, by unfeeling and relentless men. They are driven, manacled, along your highways. They pass your doors, and the distressing spectacle is forced upon you. How long, let it be asked, in the tenderest feeling of Christian philanthropy, how long shall this state of things continue? How long ere the state of public feeling shall melt in tenderness at scenes of woe like these, and rising in its strength, resolve, in wisdom and in mercy, that they shall cease? Will you not unite with us in anticipating this period with pleasure? And why should this happy period be long delayed? Why should not the time very soon arrive, when this traffic, so repugnant to all that is generous in our nature, shall cease—and still more than this—when every shackle shall be loosed from every limb, and every slave be made a *man*!

We entirely disclaim all intention of improper interference with the internal Institutions of the South, yet we feel that we are interested in this matter, because we believe the prosperity and happiness of our whole country, and the harmony of our legislative councils, are affected by it. We know that emancipation can only be effected by the legislative action of each State for itself. But we do believe it is a subject which calls loudly for such action. How can it be true “that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”—and yet the nation that proclaims this lofty senti-

ment to the world, not be called upon to legislate speedily for the emancipation of its slaves? If we take into consideration the serious truth, that this right of liberty, with which all men are endowed, "is the gift of God, and that it cannot be violated but with his wrath," there is an additional and solemn reason presented for urging legislation upon this subject. If we add the declaration of one who was familiar with the subject, and fully competent to judge, that "never will our country be productive; never will its agriculture, its commerce, or its manufactures flourish, so long as they depend upon reluctant bondmen for their progress," the necessity for prompt and effectual exertion in reference to this deeply interesting subject, is still further augmented. And we think a case is made out, which must be felt to be irresistible.

It may be urged that there are dangers connected with the emancipation of slaves, which render it imprudent; and difficulties that make it impracticable. We regard such apprehensions as being of a very conjectural character. It is quite certain that no dangers of this kind attended the emancipation of the slaves in the West India Islands, nor yet difficulties. On the contrary, an additional feeling of security was the result. And this, we think, is the consequence to be expected from such a measure—a consequence which has uniformly resulted from emancipation wherever it has been tried, among every people, and in every clime. But if those dangers did exist, are there no dangers and no difficulties connected with the continuance of slavery? The enlightened statesman of Virginia, whose language we have freely quoted, saw dangers of an alarming character—and does not his sentiment find an echo in every southern bosom? Will it be attempted to guard against these dangers by a course of legislation intended to bind the intellect, and shut out from the understanding of beings, who, equally with ourselves, are the

objects of redeeming love, every ray of knowledge but that which is necessary to enable them to toil for their masters? Where is the man who would openly espouse such a measure? And what would be the nature of his safety, surrounded by hordes of human beings degraded to the lowest depth of ignorance, yet restless, and possessing strong vindictive passions? But supposing that quiet could be maintained for a season by such means,—should not the prudent statesman, and with him the private citizen also, who feels an interest in the welfare of his country, look in advance, and consider what may be the effect of measures now adopted in distant time to come, and what may be the condition of the State, “when from natural causes, numbers may be greatly increased,” and possibly the relative proportion of the two classes materially changed—and especially to bear in mind the possibility (should we go too far to say, the probability) of supernatural interference, at some period, in favor of the oppressed.

We are fully impressed with the belief that the emancipation of this people must take place at some time—and we as firmly believe that it is not likely ever to be effected with less difficulty than at the present. If we look back for fifty years, we think it will be seen that obstacles have gradually increased during that period—why may not the same result be expected in time to come? And what if the period should be so long postponed that the bonds, instead of being loosed, should burst?

If the assertion that the natural tendency of slavery is unfavorable to the prosperity of a country was one of doubtful credit, we might attempt to strengthen the position by arguments—but its correctness has been proved to a demonstration by actual experiment. We have only to call the attention of our readers to the appearance of contiguous sections of our country, one of which has been cultivated by free men, and the other by “reluctant bond-

men." The contrast is so marked, that a glance must be sufficient to satisfy the most superficial observer, that the balance of profit and comfort is largely on the side of freedom. Intelligent travelers from the South have not failed to be forcibly struck with the difference. They have looked with delight on the prosperity of the North, even in sections of country where both the soil and the climate are less favorable for agricultural pursuits than their own—and they have turned their eyes with a feeling of regret to the exhausted acres of their own once cultivated and productive fields, which under the blight of slave labor, have now fallen back into a wilderness. Not indeed the wilderness of olden times, which teemed with the luxuriance of nature, but one without fertility and without hope. Now these facts, we think, must be allowed to be stronger than argument in favor of emancipation. And with these facts before us, we are at a loss to conceive how an intelligent and reflecting community can hesitate at all upon this subject. It may be true, that the difference of circumstances has rendered it necessary that the citizens of the North should more generally apply themselves to labor than is the case at the South. But this very industry has contributed to their comfort, has given energy and success to enterprize, and is friendly to a state of pure morality. Permit us to ask what is the influence which slavery exerts upon the state of morals at the South? We feel that it may be a delicate inquiry to make, but the subject is a very important one; we put the question, and leave it to each to answer it to his own heart.

Lest it should be thought that the preceding contrast is more highly colored than facts would warrant, we avail ourselves of the concurrent testimony of a distinguished Senator of the South, one who cannot be suspected of being under the influence of improper bias in favor of the North.

"No Southern man can journey (as I have done) through the Northern States, and witness the prosperity, the industry, the public spirit which they exhibit, the sedulous cultivation of all those arts by which life is made comfortable and respectable, without feelings of deep sadness and shame as he remembers his own neglected and desolate home. There, no dwelling is to be seen abandoned, no farm uncultivated, no man idle, no waterfall, even, unemployed. Every person and every thing performs a part towards the grand result, and the whole land is covered with fertile fields, with manufactories, and canals, and rail roads, and public edifices, and towns and cities. How different the state of things in the South! Here the face of the country wears the aspect of premature old age and decay. No improvement is seen going on, nothing is done for posterity, no man thinks of any thing beyond the present moment. Our lands are yearly tasked to their utmost capacity of production, and when exhausted, are abandoned for the youthful West. Because nature has been prodigal to us, we seem to think it unnecessary to do any thing for ourselves. The industry and skill that have converted the inclement and barren hills of New England into a garden, in the genial climate and fertile soil of the South would create almost a paradise. Our natural advantages are among the greatest with which Providence has blessed mankind, but we lack the spirit to enjoy and improve them. The rich ore is beneath our feet, yet we dig not for it. The golden fruit hangs from the bough, and we lift not our hands to gather it."

Seeing then that duty and interest unite in urging the measure of emancipation, what is there that ought to retard its progress? Does the sacrifice of property involved, present an obstacle? In the British West India Islands, where the experiment has been tried, the rise in the value of real estate, consequent upon emancipation, was nearly, and in

many instances, quite equal to the value of the slaves, which previously belonged to the estate.

Is the cost of wages to be paid for free labor regarded as an objection? There it has been found less expensive to pay wages to the free than to maintain the slave.

Is it apprehended that the liberated slaves would indulge in idleness, and that it would be difficult to procure the amount of labor that would be needed? There it has been found that the laborers were willing to work for reasonable wages, and the net proceeds of the estates have proved larger than before.

Is it supposed that insubordination and a fearful increase of crime would follow? The demeanor of the laborers there is stated by eye witnesses to be more respectful than in slavery—and that crime has materially decreased.

Is it alleged that they would not be capable of providing a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families, and that poverty and suffering would be the consequence of their emancipation? There they appear to speak of them generally to have done wonders in these respects—providing comfortable homes, cleanly and neat attire for themselves and their families, schools for the education of their children—erecting new houses for public worship, and enlarging others, at very considerable expense.

The testimony upon which the foregoing statements respecting the favorable working of freedom in the West India Islands is based, we believe is of the most unexceptionable character. It is evident that the prosperity of those Islands has been greatly promoted by the operation of the free system. And we cannot think of any good reason, why the same happy result from the same measures, might not be realized in our own country.

Slavery originated in a dark and barbarous age, and for a long period it prevailed to a great extent in the world.



But as civilization advanced—and above all—as the light of our holy religion extended its influence, the progress of this system, so destructive of the comforts of human life, was checked; and as light has increased and spread, slavery has continually receded from its presence. And so rapid for a few years past has been the progress of emancipation, as to induce the belief that the period for its final extinction had nearly arrived.

Shall it be said then, that the United States of America, a land of all others the loudest in its boast of liberty, and of its liberal institutions, is the last to relax its iron grasp—and that, when driven from other lands, slavery is still seen to linger on our own *free soil*. Surely our country, to have been consistent with its own high pretensions, should have taken the lead in this good work. And such, doubtless, had been the case, had the councils of the wisest and best of its statesmen been accepted.

If it be asked, Why does the Society of Friends thus busy itself with the affairs of others, and interfere with their domestic arrangements? We would respectfully reply, that, in time past the members of this Society participated in common with others in the practice of holding slaves. Their fields were tilled, and their harvests were reaped by them. Nor were they wholly free from that execrable foreign traffic in the persons of men which is now, by the laws of our country, declared to be piracy. In looking back upon past time, it seems wonderful to us that this could have been—and we regard it as a striking exemplification of the force of general custom, combined with the bias of education. By the faithful labors of a few pious and enlightened men, who were deeply impressed with the unrighteousness of the system, and its evil tendency, the society was induced to enter into a serious consideration of the subject, and to bring it to the test of those high principles of justice which are inculcated by the Gospel.

The result was, a full conviction that slavery was entirely incompatible with the benign nature of our holy religion. That it was, indeed, a very flagrant violation of those inalienable rights which a beneficent Creator had bestowed alike upon all. And so solemn did the conviction become, that the violation of those rights could not be continued, without indeed incurring the wrath of the Giver, that they dare no longer continue in the practice. In yielding to this conviction, they were not indifferent to the sacrifice of property which was apparently connected with it. And it cost them many a struggle before the love of property was brought to yield to the conviction of duty. But it did yield. The work of emancipation commenced under a solemn feeling that it was a religious requirement, and it progressed until it became general. And instead of the pecuniary embarrassments which had been expected, it proved that their temporal interests were promoted.

The Society having thus been strengthened to disengage itself from this system of oppression and fruitful source of domestic difficulty, we believe it to be our religious duty, as advocates in behalf of those who have long labored under a load of oppression, which if resting upon ourselves we should deem to be insupportable—thus to call the attention of the public to a serious examination of the merits, or rather the demerits of this oppressive system. We are prompted to do it, because we believe that as respected ourselves it was a system involving fearful responsibilities, and we cannot divest ourselves of this impression with respect to others—and because we regard it as a solemn truth, that the idea of retributive justice is consistent with the character of the Deity.

We therefore affectionately invite our fellow citizens, to take this great subject of human suffering and human wrong, into their very deliberate consideration. And especially do we entreat those who are most deeply inter-

ested in it to lay it seriously to heart. And as they prize the respectability of our national character abroad—as they value the prosperity and happiness of their own country—as they desire the enjoyment of uninterrupted peace and domestic security, and wish to transmit this blessed inheritance to posterity, to lose no time in devising such measures as may seem best adapted to the purpose of removing this opprobrious burden, and raising from their present degraded condition, that numerous class of our fellow creatures whose rights have been too long neglected. That thus the sighs of the poor and the cries of the oppressed may no longer ascend to Heaven from our land.

Signed on behalf and by direction of a meeting of the  
Representatives of the Religious Society of Friends  
of the Yearly Meeting of New York, held in that  
city, the 1st of 4th month, 1844.

RICHARD CARPENTER, *Clerk.*





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THE  
A P P E A L  
OF THE  
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS  
IN  
PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, ETC.,  
*Yearly Meeting.*  
TO THEIR  
FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES  
ON BEHALF OF THE  
COLOURED RACES.

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2. PHILADELPHIA:  
FRIENDS' BOOK-STORE,  
No. 304 ARCH STREET.  
1858.

1858, July 6.

City of

Rev. C. J. Bradlee,  
of N. Cambridge,  
(H. U. 1852.)

*At a Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, &c., held in Philadelphia by adjournments from the 19th to the 22d of the Fourth month, inclusive, 1858—*

*An Appeal to the citizens of the United States on behalf of the Coloured Races having been prepared by the Meeting for Sufferings, it was read and united with, and directed to be signed by the Clerk on behalf of the Yearly Meeting and an edition to be published sufficiently large for extensive distribution.*

*Extracted from the Minutes.*

WILLIAM EVANS,

*Clerk to the Meeting this year.*

THE APPEAL  
OF THE  
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,  
TO THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ON BEHALF OF  
THE COLOURED RACES.

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IN contemplating the present condition and future prospects of our beloved country, the conviction has been forcibly brought before us, that, whatever elements of outward prosperity and greatness a nation may possess, it is only by an observance of the obligations of morality and religion that its real interests and highest welfare can be promoted, and established upon a secure basis.

The sovereign Ruler of the Universe is a Being of perfect justice and beneficence, as well as of unlimited power. He controls the destiny of governments and of individuals, and can set up or pull down at his pleasure; and all the policy and strength of man is utterly incapable of resisting the course of his Almighty Providence.

It is one of the fixed laws of his moral government, attested by experience and by Holy Scripture, that wickedness and oppression are, sooner or later, followed by his just judgments. The annals of those that have preceded us furnish abundant evidence that national sins have ever incurred national calamities; and that a course of iniquity and violence, however prosperous for a time, has eventually terminated in disgrace and ruin. History abounds with instances of governments which have risen to a height of power and influence that seemed almost



irresistible; and arrogantly presuming on the strength of their position, and trusting to their skill and management, have sought to aggrandize themselves by encroaching upon the rights of others, until at length, in the righteous retribution of Him who has declared, "Vengeance is mine — I will repay" — the measure they have meted to others has been returned upon themselves, unlooked-for calamities have befallen, they have sunk into moral and political degradation, and their very existence has been blotted out from the earth.

The account of the Jews, as related in the Bible and confirmed by profane writers, shows that their happiness and prosperity, as well as their security from the aggressions of hostile nations, were in proportion to their obedience to the Divine law; continued violations of which brought upon them fearful calamities, and ended in the destruction of their government, and their dispersion, as a despised people, among other nations.

If we turn to the history of Rome, Greece, or Babylon, as well as other kingdoms, ancient and modern, the same just retribution is written in characters too plain to be mistaken or controverted.

These fearful manifestations of Divine justice are designed as beacons to succeeding generations. The Most High changes not. He is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. His attributes are neither altered nor suspended to suit the varying schemes, or the fluctuating opinions of men or governments, but are ever acting, with perfect harmony and certainty, to bring about his purposes. Though he is forbearing and compassionate, and may wait long with the disobedient, ere he causes them to reap the reward of their doings, yet the Holy Scriptures assure us, that He will by no means clear the guilty, nor suffer the impenitently wicked to go unpunished. However improbable, in the day of outward prosperity, a reverse may appear; however it may seem to us, for a

time, that God regardeth not the iniquity of the oppressor, nor listeneth to the groaning of the down-trodden, it is unalterably certain that the day of recompense will sooner or later arrive.

Of his infinite mercy he allows to nations, as well as to individuals, a period in which they may repent of their iniquity — may cease to do evil and learn to do well, and thereby avert the awful consequences of their sins. But this day of mercy does not last forever. It is possible to disregard and outlive it; and of such a condition it is divinely declared, “Because I have called and ye refused — I have stretched out my hand and no man regarded; but ye have set at naught all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity and mock when your fear cometh: when your fear cometh as a desolation and your destruction as a whirlwind — and distress and anguish overtake.” Such has been the course of the moral government of the Almighty in past ages, and both reason and revelation confirm the conclusion that such it will be for all time to come.

With these views deeply impressed on our minds, our attention has been directed to the course pursued by the people and government of these United States toward the coloured races. — It is not our purpose to speak particularly of the wrongs and cruelties practised upon the aboriginal inhabitants of our country. It will hardly be denied by any one acquainted with the subject, that a vast amount of injustice and other wickedness has been perpetrated in the intercourse of the whites with the Indians, for which a heavy load of responsibility rests upon the nation. These feeble and defenceless remnants of the tribes who once possessed the soil upon which we have grown rich, have strong claims on our sympathy and Christian liberality; and every principle of religion and humanity dictates, that in their weakness and destitution they should be treated with kindness and generosity.

Our present business is more especially with the condition of the descendants of Africa. We wish to approach the subject with that charity and forbearance which the gospel enjoins between man and his brother man. We disclaim all sectional views, — all party or political motives, and any undue interference with supposed rights of property and local regulations. It is, as we believe, under the constraining influence of that love which seeks the welfare of both masters and slaves, and desires the happiness and prosperity of our beloved country, that we make our earnest and solemn appeal on this momentous subject. That there are conscientious men, who treat their slaves with humanity, and see in part, and perhaps deplore, the evils of the system in which they are involved we do not doubt, and we sympathize with them in their trials and difficulties respecting it. But it is equally certain that there are others whose course is the reverse of this. Our business, however, is not with individuals or with particular cases; it is with slavery as a legalized institution in some of the United States.

We are aware that difference of education, of position in life, and of associations, produces a powerful effect in moulding the sentiments of men, and that interest, in a greater or less degree, influences all, and modifies in their view the force even of the strongest arguments.

But there are certain great principles of moral right revealed by the Holy Spirit in the heart, and laid down in the scriptures of Truth for the government of all, which no exercise of charity can suspend, no prejudice of education annul; nor can any combination of circumstances absolve us from the obligation to observe them. To these principles, in connexion with the subject before us, we wish calmly and kindly to invite the dispassionate attention of our readers.

At an early period, the Religious Society of Friends was constrained by a sense of Christian duty to clear itself of

the traffic in mankind. Under the enlightening influences of the Spirit of Truth they saw that it was totally irreconcilable with the precepts of Christ and his apostles; that the subjects of it were the victims of wars, fomented in Africa by the manstealer, for the love of gain; and that the sufferings they endured on the passage to America were repugnant to humanity.

Being faithful in this particular, they were soon led to consider the origin and nature of the servitude to which the stolen Africans and their descendants were reduced after being landed on our shores; and, testing it by the simple precepts of the gospel, they found it wholly at variance with them. Undeterred by pecuniary loss or other inconveniences, and patiently labouring in love to convince the judgments of those members who did not at once accord with these views, they eventually liberated all their negroes; so that for a long period there has not been a slave held as such by an acknowledged member of the Society. Having thus cleared themselves of these evils, and tasted the reward of doing justly, they were drawn in Christian love to plead with their fellow-citizens who yet held slaves, and to labour in a meek and gentle spirit, to bring others to that sense of mercy and of justice, to which the Lord in his goodness had brought them. Hence, they have often felt it their duty to open their mouths for the dumb, and to plead the cause of those who have few or none to help them.

The people of these United States profess to be Christians—to believe in the gospel of Christ, and to acknowledge and receive the Holy Scriptures as a law given from heaven. In this precious volume we are taught that God is the Creator of all men—that He made of one blood all the families of the earth; and that He is the gracious and beneficent Father of them all. That all are partakers of the same fallen nature; all have sinned and come short of the glory of God; all have need of the

pardon and forgiveness which are offered to us, in and through our Lord Jesus Christ, and that all must render an account of their deeds at his judgment seat. The gospel is declared to be glad tidings of great joy which shall be to *all* people. That boundless love and mercy in which the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world embraces the whole human race without respect of persons. Jesus Christ died for all; and the grace of God which bringeth salvation has appeared unto all men without distinction of nation, tongue, colour or country.

Whatever other differences may exist, these common mercies and common characteristics surely constitute all men brethren—children of one universal Parent—objects of the same love and mercy—and participants of His bounty, to which we owe all we possess, and from which are derived all the advantages which one enjoys over another. Every principle of religion and morality, every feeling of gratitude, added to the sense of common dependence upon the same Father, binds us to the exercise of kindness, of sympathy, and of love, towards all our fellow-creatures.

Among the countless multitudes of immortal beings who people his earth, there is not one so poor, so weak, or so despised, as to be beneath his regard and care. Not a sparrow falls to the ground without his notice: and if the Omnipotent One condescends to behold the falling even of the least of his animal creation, how much more will He not overlook the sufferings or the wrongs of a being created in his own image and for a purpose of his own glory. "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." None are so powerful that He cannot punish them—none so high as to be beyond the reach of his righteous judgments.

There is no precept more frequently and earnestly en-

joined in the New Testament, than that of loving one another. The first and great commandment is to love God with the whole heart; and the second is like unto it, viz.: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Our Saviour makes it the test of being his: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Again: "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour—therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law"—and if any man say he loves God, and doth not love his brother, he is a liar, and the truth is not in him.

The gospel rule goes even further than this. Its requisitions are not complied with by merely loving our neighbour, and those who do not oppose our interest or our pleasure. The Christian Lawgiver says: "Love your enemies—do good to them that hate you—bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven."

Let any man candidly and deliberately consider these texts, and then seriously ask himself, Am I loving my neighbour as I love myself, by holding him, and his posterity after him, in involuntary servitude—compelling them to labour all their lives for my benefit, with no other remuneration but shelter and a scanty pittance of food and clothing? Is this working no ill to my neighbour? Am I fulfilling the divine law of love, and acting under its benign and heavenly influence, by thus holding in perpetual and unconditional bondage, with all its degrading and corrupting accompaniments, my brother and my sister—children of the same Almighty Father, created in his image, and, equally with myself, the objects of his merciful regard, and of that salvation which was purchased for them and for me by the same Saviour's blood?

Is there a man living who could appear before his Maker and answer these questions in the affirmative?

We believe not. The contradiction is too great, too manifest, not to carry conviction into every heart.

Take another precept. Our Lord Jesus Christ says: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye also even so unto them." Would the holder and worker of slaves like to exchange his own lot for their hard and continuous toil—their scanty food and clothing, and often comfortless shelter; their degraded condition; the ignorance, literary and religious, in which he keeps them; the severe whippings they frequently receive; the separation from wife and children, and of these from each other; and the privation of liberty and the pursuit and enjoyment of happiness in his own way? Would he voluntarily exchange places with his negroes, and put his soul in their soul's stead? We need not pause for a reply.

Were their lots so exchanged, can he appeal to the Searcher of hearts, and deliberately say that he now treats his slaves as he would wish to be treated, were he in their place? Here is a close test, a comprehensive criterion. But, if Christ be true—if, as He declares, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away"—is it not the true standard by which to try the case? Do we flatter ourselves that the strictness of the rule will be relaxed to accommodate us, because we are masters? Let us remember that God is no respecter of persons. His law is the same for high and low, and we cannot elude its force. "He that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin," and "the wages of sin is death."

If we duly appreciate the rich blessings of the gospel of Christ; the value of that message which He delivered to the world, and of the salvation which He offers for its acceptance; the influence of his love will prompt us, under the guidance of the Divine light, to spread the knowledge of them among our fellow-men, and to invite all to embrace these glorious privileges. Could we then

be instrumental in keeping any in ignorance of any part of the means provided for making known that message and those blessings? Could we purposely deprive them of the privilege and comfort of reading the Holy Scriptures, which were written by inspiration of God, for their and our learning, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works; and are able to make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus?

American slavery systematically and by law prohibits teaching the slave to read; and thus, in great measure, cuts off millions of our fellow-beings from the opportunity of deriving from the Scriptures the consolations, the warnings, the reproofs and instruction they contain. Must not that compassionate Being who provided these invaluable records for the use of black as well as white, view with just displeasure the wilful withholding from his children of the advantages He thus designed for them; and do not those incur a fearful load of responsibility who support the institution which is the instrument of so great a wrong?

Slavery exposes females to the uncontrolled and irresponsible power of licentious men, in whose hands they are helpless. Let any man who has daughters growing up around him, bound to him by the tenderest ties of parental and filial love, seriously contemplate this monstrous evil, and then say whether a system that produces, tolerates, and even protects such a state of things, is not a curse to the earth.

The divine command respecting the ordinance of marriage is, "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." Slavery tells the master he may sunder man and wife whenever he pleases — may sell them far away from each other; and, if he keep either, compel that one to marry again, and thus violate another of the divine laws.



The children of a slave, dear to him perhaps as his own flesh, and for whose welfare and happiness he may be anxiously solicitous, can be torn from him at the pleasure of an arbitrary master, sold to distant and, to him, unknown parts, perhaps to a hard-hearted driver, who extorts from his victims by the lash the utmost amount of toil of which their enfeebled and lacerated limbs are capable; and the bereaved parent has scarcely the poor satisfaction of pouring his complaint into some sympathizing bosom, or of learning by hearsay the future lot of his child.

The coloured man has his social affections, his domestic ties. There may be, and doubtless there are, differences among them, as among white men, in these respects; but facts prove that the race possess those tender emotions in no inconsiderable degree. What anguish must wring the heart of a fond parent whose children are hopelessly and helplessly doomed to such outrages, and to whose violated natural rights and moral feelings even the forms of law give no adequate protection or redress! O! that, as men, as Christians, as well-wishers of our common country, we could be brought fully to appreciate, and to feel, the magnitude, the enormity, of these evils; and, putting ourselves into the position of the poor negroes, could sympathize with them as our fellow-creatures — as husbands and wives, as fathers and mothers, as brothers and sisters.

Slavery entrusts the master with despotic power over the person, the time, the will, of the negro. He may inflict cruel and torturing punishment, just so as he does not take his life or wantonly maim him — he may deprive him of all that makes existence pleasant, and he has no redress — none to remedy his wrongs or to listen to his complaint.

Man is created a free agent. The divine law by which he is to be governed is written in his heart by the Spirit of Truth and in the Holy Scriptures. Good and evil are

set before him with their inevitable consequences of happiness or misery, and he is called to choose the good and refuse the evil, but with liberty to make his election. The institution of slavery interferes with this liberty, and makes the will of the master absolute over the actions of the slave, and paramount to the law of God. The master may, and in many instances does, compel the slave to do things which the divine law forbids, and to leave unperformed duties which it commands, and thus exalts his own authority above that of the Almighty himself. Let us seriously ponder this in all the vastness of its consequences for time and for eternity, and say whether a system which thus sets one man above his Maker, while it degrades another so far below the condition in which the Creator placed him, is not at variance with the whole scope of Christianity, and deeply injurious to both master and slave !

Is it any wonder that the moral sense of other civilized nations turns with disgust and abhorrence from an institution fraught with these evils, and which inflicts on its victims such grievous wrongs ? We would affectionately and earnestly entreat our fellow-citizens everywhere to contemplate them — to give up their minds to the deliberate consideration of the hardships and the privations of the negro, and to let their sympathies flow unrestrained for his degraded and oppressed condition.

We believe those who do so will not fail to see that Christianity and Slavery are irreconcilable—that the meek, loving, self-sacrificing spirit of the Redeemer of men, who declared that we ought to love one another as He loved us, which was even to laying down his life for our sakes, is totally adverse to the wrongs and cruelties of the system, and that there is cause to apprehend it will eventually bring upon our beloved country the measure of His just retribution who declared, “Shall I not visit for these things ? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this ?”

How deeply, then, is it to be lamented that so many amongst us view with indifference and unconcern this alarming subject; while others, from pecuniary or political motives, cling to the system, and are seeking to extend its area, and thus widen and augment the evil which threatens to overthrow the peace and prosperity of the nation, and even the government itself.

We turn with Christian interest and sympathy to the condition of the free black people within the jurisdiction of our government.

They labor under many and great disabilities, for which no better reason can be assigned than that there is power to impose them; and they have to contend against unjust prejudices, continually operating to their disadvantage, and repressing their efforts for improvement. That many of them possess but little thrift, and are not very strict in their observance of the moral law, will not be denied. But when we consider the ignorance and degradation into which their ancestors and themselves were forced by the whites, and in which they have generally been kept, what other result could reasonably have been anticipated? Under the same neglect and pernicious treatment, would not the whites have exhibited equal degradation? and is it just to hold the negro answerable for the consequences of our own want of care to imbue his mind with right principles and train him to correct practices?

Does not a part at least of the responsibility rest upon their more favored white brethren for a failure to perform what seems no less than a Christian duty? While thousands of dollars are annually expended, and many persons are devoting their lives in endeavoring to improve the condition of nations afar off, how few are found willing to give their time or means to instructing and elevating the thousands of free colored people who live in our midst, and how very little is actually done to meliorate their

social, civil, or moral condition, and to raise them from the depressed state into which they have been driven. It is cheering to see that, with proper culture and encouragement, many of them exhibit a capacity for improvement, and an energy and perseverance in attaining it, which are highly creditable. There are not a few instances in which they have reached a considerable degree of intellectual development; have made commendable progress in literature and science, and by a course of industry, honesty, and sobriety, have attained a comfortable competency and established a good reputation as worthy and useful citizens. We lament to see, nevertheless, that the unchristian prejudice against colour is still operating most unjustly against them; that in several of the States severe laws are proposed or enacted, the object of which is still further to rob them of their rights as citizens, and even to deprive them of a home in the land of their birth. Laws so oppressive, and unjust in their nature, we apprehend are an offence against the Most High, and clearly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our republican constitution; and we feel bound to protest against them.

The great ends of good government are to afford protection to the weak, security to the defenceless, an asylum to the oppressed, and to promote the welfare and happiness of all the governed. Such were the objects in view with the founders of our Republic. But how widely different is the course of oppression and disfranchisement pursued, by many of their professed admirers, towards the free people of colour. Justice loudly demands for them the full enjoyment of their natural and civil rights; and Christian benevolence prompts the exercise of sympathy and kindness in their difficulties and privations, and the adoption of proper means to repair the disadvantages and injuries which the whites have entailed upon them.

If we think their presence amongst us is inconvenient and injurious—if we view them as a race not congenial with our own, and as foreign to our soil and social institutions, let us bear in mind that they did not voluntarily intrude themselves among us; that our ancestors dragged them here, against their will, to advance selfish interests; and, since that period, millions of them have labored and suffered to increase the wealth and minister to the ease and enjoyment of the white man; and that, if birth within our borders, if toil and tears, the waste of sinew and muscle, and of life itself, in long and unrewarded labor, can purchase a valid title to home and country, the coloured man can claim them here with the most equitable right.

It was by a traffic outraging all the natural and civil rights of man, reeking with the perpetration of crimes and cruelties among the darkest that blot the history of human kind, that slavery was introduced into our country. The unhallowed commerce was found to be profitable; and there were those degraded enough to pursue it from sordid love of gold, regardless of all the miseries it inflicted. Slavery is at once the nurse and the nourishment of the Slave trade. Wherever it exists, there is a market for its victims; and where there is a remunerating demand, there will be a supply, despite of laws and of morals. The system has, therefore, not only its own evils to condemn it, but the not less atrocious wickedness and barbarity which are connected with the traffic it creates and supports.

We are persuaded that it is not necessary to enter upon any argument to prove the iniquity of the African Slave trade. It is an evil so terrible, attended in every successive stage of its progress by such complicated guilt and misery, by consequences so afflicting to humanity, and so repugnant to every precept of morality, that the government of the United States, in common with nearly every

other which professes the Christian religion, has branded it as infamous, and affixed the severest penalties to a participation in it. Of all nations, our own was the first to prohibit the traffic, to affix to it the stigma of piracy, and to award to its perpetrators the awful penalty of death.

Yet how humiliating, how afflicting is the fact, that there is the clearest evidence, not only remote but recent, and almost continually forcing itself upon public notice, that American capital and American citizens are now actively engaged in carrying it on; and that vessels built and equipped in the United States, sent out from our ports, and in which our merchants have a direct or collateral interest, are constantly employed in its prosecution.

Whatever information the United States government may have received from its official agents respecting the complicity of American citizens in the traffic, several years have elapsed since it has published anything material, touching the subject. It is a fact, that the flag of the nation which makes a greater boast of liberty than any other, is most frequently employed for the protection of this illicit commerce; and yet scarcely any public notice is taken of it by those in authority. In a despatch forwarded to the Secretary of State, in 1844, by Henry A. Wise, then Minister of the United States at the court of Brazil, where he had abundant opportunity of becoming acquainted with the details of the Slave trade, and the manner in which our citizens made themselves parties to it, he speaks of numerous American vessels being engaged in it, and shows that the immunity from detection and punishment, furnished by the flag of the United States, is the grand security of the traffic. Information of the same character, accompanied with authentic cases of the employment of American vessels and crews in the business, and of instances of shocking excesses committed by them, was transmitted as recently as 1850, by David Todd, who

succeeded Henry A. Wise. He entreated that our government would interpose its authority to prevent more effectually the use of its flag for this nefarious purpose, and of the vessels and capital of our citizens, in buying and transporting the kidnapped sons and daughters of Africa.\*

The official documents furnished to the British government by its officers on the coast of Africa and in Cuba, up to the year 1857, prove, in the most conclusive manner, that the state of things depicted by H. A. Wise and D. Todd still continues; and that American vessels and capital are as deeply implicated in the trade as ever. It would swell this Appeal too much to recite the numerous cases given, and we shall confine ourselves to one or two, which may be taken as examples of the whole.

In a despatch from George Jackson and Edmund Gabriel, English Commissioners at Loanda, Africa, dated "March 28th, 1854," addressed to Lord Clarendon, they state: "The United States Brig Perry came into this harbor two days ago, and we have received from Lieutenant Page [one of her officers] the following confirmation of the intelligence contained in our despatch of the 17th inst., viz.:—

"On the 10th inst., about noon, the Perry being abreast of Congo, descried a vessel a long distance out at sea standing in for the land. Lieutenant Page immediately ran up the blue ensign, on seeing which the stranger hoisted American colours. Lieutenant Page then determined not to have the appearance of giving chase, but by the help of his night glass he never lost sight of the vessel, and manœuvred with so much tact, that, when morning broke, he found himself within a few miles of her. He immediately sent his boats in pursuit, and eventually captured her; her captain declaring that he would not allow any but an American boat to board her; but seeing they were officers of the United States Navy, he at once

\* See Appendix, A.

acknowledged that he was making for the land, to ship a cargo of slaves, from 600 to 800, who were looking out for him. His slave-deck, water, and provisions, were all on board. She proved to be a brig, the Glamorgan, of two hundred tons, from New York, chartered by a Portuguese, now a resident in that city. The Glamorgan sailed from New York on the 6th of October, 1853, and landed her cargo in January, partly in the Congo, and partly at Ambriz (Africa). The master of her was a native of Bremen, but a naturalized American. The mate was either an American or an Englishman by birth, believed to be the latter.

"The Glamorgan had been several times visited by Her Majesty's cruisers, and then, as at the moment of her capture, her papers, Lieutenant Page declares, were perfectly regular. If she had not been deceived by the manœuvres of the Perry, she might have escaped with the greatest ease, her sailing qualities being far superior to those of that brig, or probably of any cruiser on the coast."

In a letter from B. Campbell, British Consul at Lagos, Africa, dated "January 6th, 1856," to Lord Clarendon, it is stated that the English ship-of-war "Hecate" chased a suspicious brigantine in the Bight of Benin, which, not being able to escape, ran ashore, and proved to be a slaver named "Chatsworth," of New York.

In another letter, dated "Feb. 1st, 1856," the consul says, "I regret to have to report to your lordship that there is an active renewal of the slave trade at Whydah and the neighbouring ports. — —, of New York, has two vessels under the American flag, the barque 'Hermitage' and schooner 'David Mitchell,' hovering about the slave ports. The latter, I am well informed, will take away slaves, if an opportunity offers."

In a letter from J. G. C. L. Newnham, English consul at Monrovia, dated "September 10th, 1855," is the fol-



lowing, viz., "On the 19th of last month (August) came to anchor, in this port of entry, an American vessel of suspicious appearance, the 'Alexander Mitchell,' from New York, whose owner has been engaged in the slave trade."

In another letter, dated "December 3, 1855," he says, "I have learnt that the Alexander Mitchell, the vessel I made mention of to you in my despatch of September 10th, 1855, has recently shipped 500 slaves, a little below Cape Palmas."

In a letter from the English consul at Rio Janeiro to Lord Clarendon, dated "February 8th, 1856," he states that the "Mary E. Smith," of Boston, was seized by the Brazilian war-schooner "Olinda," off the port of St. Matheos, in Brazil, where the captain was endeavouring to land his cargo. She had about 380 slaves on board. He says, "At the time the Mary E. Smith was seized by the Brazilians she had the United States ensign flying, and her American papers were found to be in order. Her captain and part of her crew are Americans, and part Portuguese."

Consul Morgan, of Bahia, says, "I never heard of, or saw, a more distressing case of slave trading than the 'Mary E. Smith' has offered. With a capacity of only 122 tons, 500 human beings were crammed into her on the coast of Africa, of whom 133 had died previous to her capture, and subsequently, until her arrival in this port, 67 expired from exhaustion, consequent on starvation and disease, their bodies being eaten into by vermin. Of the remainder landed, 76 have been buried; and of the survivors, 109 are in the hospital, suffering from the disease contracted on board. Such is the deplorable result of this inhuman traffic."

"I regret to add that, from the investigations made on board by the chief of police, *four more* vessels, purchased in the United States, and belonging to the same associa-

tion, are expected, with Africans. The first expected is the 'Mary Stuart.'"

Subsequent investigation proved, by the testimony of witnesses under qualification, that the vessels spoken of belonged to a company formed for prosecuting the African slave trade, some of which, sailing from ports of the United States, were afterwards captured.

In an official despatch from Jose Maria Da Silva Paranhos, Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated "Rio Janeiro, February 22d, 1856," alluding to the legal testimony recently taken in the case of the captured slaver "Mary E. Smith," he says, "It appears unquestionable that the African slave-traders have established a basis for their criminal speculations and operations to the Havana and Brazil, in ports of the United States; and that there are agents in Angola and other places in Africa commissioned to load and dispatch the cargoes destined for those places."

We might quote from the Parliamentary Reports the names of numerous other vessels evidently engaged in the slave trade, and overhauled on the coast of Africa within the last four years, which displayed the United States flag, and thus escaped search and capture, to pursue the infamous traffic.\*

Joseph T. Crawford, Acting Commissary Judge at Havana, Island of Cuba, in a despatch to Lord Clarendon, dated "January 14, 1856," says —

"The slave trade, during the past year, has been carried on with more than its ordinary activity. No less than 6408 (Africans) have been introduced during the last twelve months, and are held here in slavery.

"I have no reason for thinking that the expeditions to the coast of Africa, during 1855, have proceeded from Cuba, as formerly. This has, in great measure, been rendered unnecessary by the facilities the slave traders find

\* See Appendix, B.

in fitting out their vessels in the United States, where the craft employed are to be met with cheap and suitable, as well as their fittings and stores much more reasonable in price than here in Cuba; added to which, they are subjected to less observation, and run less risk of detection, — the masters and crews being easily found to proceed under the direction of an agent or supercargo, usually an experienced slave trader; their cargoes being ready (on the coast of Africa), waiting their appearance at the given point of embarkation — they arrive there under the American flag, take on board their miserable cargo, and are off so very quickly from the coast, that they are seldom fallen in with by the cruizers; or, if they were, they would be found like the 'Grey Eagle' [formerly of Philadelphia] without papers of any kind, should there be evidence on board of their slave-trading character."

In a despatch from the same officer, dated "January 31st, 1857," he furnishes an account of the number of slaves *known* to have been landed in Cuba, from the coast of Africa, during 1856, which is 5478; to which one-third is added, as a very low estimate of the number smuggled in, without detection or knowledge; making a total of 7304 for the year.

He says, "the list proves that the slave trade continues to be carried on, not only extensively, but almost with impunity; since, of so large a number known to have been landed, only fifty-four have been captured."

The views and facts we have here stated, are fully confirmed by John M. Clayton, Senator from the Slave State of Delaware, in a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, in the spring of 1854, in which he sets forth the extensive participation of American vessels in the trade.\*

Further evidence of this is also furnished by two of the public newspapers published in New York city, one in

\* See Appendix, C.

Baltimore, and another published in Washington, D. C. In one of these, dated 7mo, 14, 1856, a list is given of twenty-one American vessels engaged in the slave trade, eighteen of which had sailed out of the port of New York within three years previous.\*

It is not from New York only that these vessels are sent out. There is evidence that the ports of Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, as well as other places in the United States, are used for this nefarious purpose, and that its vast profit, the business it creates, the employment it gives to numerous mechanics and laborers, with the large and even exorbitant prices which are paid to all concerned, partly with a view to secure secrecy, are silently but steadily operating to undermine the virtuous feelings of many in the community, and to lessen the abhorrence which should justly be excited by a trade that inflicts upon our fellow-creatures wrongs so monstrous, and sufferings of so dreadful a character.

The evils produced by it in Africa are incalculably great and wide-spread. The peaceful pursuits of agriculture and manufactures are suspended. Wars are fomented by the slave-traders, and money, fire-arms, and rum liberally supplied to the petty chiefs in exchange for the poor victims, stolen away while at their work, or captured in war. The course of a party on a slave-hunt is a scene of desolation and carnage. Villages of peaceful natives, industriously pursuing their ordinary avocations, are suddenly surrounded and surprised by an armed horde of ruffians; their houses fired, their grain-fields destroyed, their cattle driven away, the aged and the infants slaughtered, and the young and middle aged of both sexes seized and bound. Their hands being secured, they are fastened by the neck to a pole of sufficient length to receive eight or ten of them, and thus are driven for many miles at the point of the bayonet or spear, with cruel

\* See Appendix, D.

flogging if sullen or obstinate, until they reach the sea-side, there to be transferred to the pestilential hold of the slave ship. Barth, a recent traveller in Africa, gives an affecting picture of one of these raids which he witnessed; and his story is only a confirmation of numerous recitals from other reliable travellers.

Where the slave-trade is carried on, there is no security for life, for property, for wife, or children. Prompted by cupidity for the articles which the white man offers in barter for negroes, the untutored African becomes savage and treacherous, and watches the favourable moment for springing by stealth upon his prey, or for betraying him to the slave-dealer. Accusations of crimes, totally unfounded, are invented, and conviction procured, that the petty chiefs may profit by the sale of the innocent victim; the midnight ruffian prowls around the dwelling of the unsuspecting, that he may seize and carry off some unguarded individual; and in some instances, the ties of affection and blood become so entirely severed, that these deeds of deceit and violence are practised upon the nearest kindred. David Livingston, another modern traveller, who has penetrated further into Africa, and obtained a more accurate knowledge of the manners and customs of her inhabitants than almost any other, gives abundant proof of the peaceful, confiding, and kind character of the natives, where the slave-trade has not extended its barbarizing and degrading influences; and states distinctly, that when they got within its area, the whole bearing and conduct of the people was altered for the worse.

Nor are the slave-ship and the passage to the land of cruel and unrequited toil less destructive of life, or less deplorable in their accompaniments. With hundreds of men and women, boys and girls, jammed into a space so contracted, that each one has less room than he would occupy in his coffin, without clothing, with no means for cleanliness, with little light or ventilation; unable to turn or

to change position at pleasure, with an atmosphere so pestiferous, and a stench so sickening, that the stoutest and most hardy seamen revolt at it; miserably and very insufficiently fed, and wholly at the will of merciless and abandoned men; what can be conceived more wretched and pitiable than the helpless condition of the poor voyaging negro! Is it any wonder that disease in its most appalling and disgusting forms bursts forth with violence, and that death sweeps hundreds of the sufferers beyond the reach of their tormentors. The mortality is frightful. In the case of the *Mary E. Smith*, already alluded to, two hundred and seventy-six out of about five hundred died, and one hundred and nine others were sick in the hospital. The average mortality among the slaves carried from Africa to Cuba and Brazil is found to be from one-fourth to one-third of all that are shipped.\*

What a deplorable picture do these statements present of a traffic carried on in this enlightened day, by a professedly Christian people, and which is attempted to be justified on the absurd and revolting plea that it is bringing the negroes within the influence of Christianity and civilization, and thus conferring a benefit upon them. Might not the slave respond to this, as one of a working gang did to a white man who was recommending to him the religion of the Saviour of men: "If Christ commands you to treat us thus, then Christ is a cruel tyrant."

The researches of the above named, as well as other travellers, have disclosed a vast extent of fertile country in the interior of Africa, adapted to the growth of cotton, sugar, maize, palm oil, and all the products which require the genial warmth of a tropical clime. To develop these, demands only capital and well-directed industry, with a peaceful and secure enjoyment of the fruits of labor. In those parts adjacent to, or on, the coast, where the inhuman traffic in flesh had been checked, agriculture and

\* See Appendix, E, No. 3.

commerce were beginning to flourish, and the material for peaceful and lawful commerce was rapidly increasing. From official documents it appears that the exports from the port of Lagos, in Guinea, during the year 1856, amounted in value to one hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight pounds, or about eight hundred thousand dollars; and from the other ports in the Bight of Benin, to six hundred and eighty-three thousand five hundred pounds, or more than three millions of dollars; making a total of eight hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-eight pounds, or nearly four millions of dollars; and almost the whole of this large trade has sprung up within the comparatively short space of twenty years. The cultivation of cotton in the district of Yoruba and the adjoining country, during the same period, is estimated at seven millions two hundred thousand pounds.\* The trade of the colonies founded under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, is a further proof of the commercial benefits which would result from the entire abolition of the Slave trade.

B. Campbell, English Consul at Lagos, in a Report to the government, dated "January 5th, 1857," says: "The rapid development of the legitimate commercial resources of this part of Africa demonstrates the enormous wrong done by the Slave trade, in staying, for so many years, the natural resources of the country, and tearing away its inhabitants by violence and fraud, to cultivate, under the pressure of the lash, in foreign lands, those very productions which the climate and soil of his own country are equally capable of producing, by that natural incentive to labour, the prospect of reaping and enjoying its fruits."

Every year furnishes additional evidence that Africa, treated with generous and Christian humanity, encouraged and aided by the superior skill and knowledge of

\* Parliamentary Reports, Class B, 1856-7, p. 34.

the white man, would yield a large contribution to the wealth and comforts of the civilized world, and furnish a vast amount of useful products for legal and profitable commerce; while the intercourse of the whites, conducted upon Christian principles, and showing forth the attractive light of a consistent and virtuous example in life and conversation, could scarcely fail, under the Divine blessing, to prepare the way for embracing the religion which produced such excellent fruits.

It is afflicting to find that the hopes entertained of an effectual check being given to the Slave trade, and that Africa would thus gradually recover from the evils produced by it, are likely to be blighted by its further revival, under the pretext of obtaining free labourers for some of the West India Islands; a scheme sanctioned by one of the European governments, the prosecution of which has already produced very disastrous results. The pretence of hiring the Africans to go voluntarily is a mere guise, and cannot conceal, what it practically results in, the coercive abduction of the negroes to a life of unremunerated labour; while, at the same time, the authority given to the government agents to procure them, acts as a protection and immunity to the regular slave trader, and will thus multiply, to a fearful degree, the rapine, bloodshed and destruction which have heretofore devastated the seaboard sections of Africa.\*

In our own country, too, the high price of sugar, cotton, and other slave products, has so much enhanced the cost of negroes, that, actuated by the thirst for wealth, men are to be found, even among our enlightened population, who have the hardihood to advocate the re-opening of the Slave trade to our ports. It is a startling fact, and one which ought to arouse every sincere well-wisher of his country to a sense of the peril which is threatening, that the Governors of three of the States of this Union

\* See Appendix, E.



have officially called the attention of the Legislatures to the propriety of such a course, and that it is strongly urged in several of the public newspapers. It is both mortifying and alarming that such is the case; and while it must degrade us in the eyes of the civilized world, it awakens just apprehensions that our situation is fast ripening for some calamity, the natural result of this open disregard of the Divine law. May we all be awakened to a just estimate of our responsibility, and of the obligation which rests on us to exert ourselves to avert from the reputation of our beloved country the foul blot which threatens it.

The evils attendant on the traffic, which words are inadequate to depict, are not of recent origin, nor dependent on its legal prohibition. They existed, to an enormous extent, during the period in which the trade was sanctioned and regulated by law; and it was their monstrous character that led to its interdiction. If a day of such fearful moral declension ever arrives as that it shall again be legalized, it cannot be doubted but the same cruelties and wrongs would still attend its prosecution.

Beside the foreign traffic, slavery originates and sustains another, little less odious, and abhorrent to the tenderest feelings of human nature: we allude to the Slave trade between the different States. The rearing of slaves for the market thus created, appears, in some cases, to be made a business. Man, the noblest work of his Creator, bearing his image, made but a little lower than the angels, and animated by an immortal soul, is put on a level with the beasts that perish; bought and sold in the shambles like cattle, driven from place to place to obtain a better market, and every feeling of tenderness and affection which stirs within his bosom disregarded and set at naught. Husbands and wives, parents and children, often of tender age and needing a mother's care, brothers and sisters, all are ruthlessly torn apart, regardless of groans and tears, and sold far away from

each other, never again to meet on earth. Local attachments of birth-place and home, and of scenes of childhood's joys and sorrows, are unscrupulously sundered, and the helpless victim is sent to find a new home among strangers, of whose temper and conduct he can know nothing, and to the behests of whose arbitrary will and passions, however merciless and tyrannical, he has often no alternative but abject submission or cruel stripes, perhaps torture even unto death.

Is there a Christian heart but must be stirred to its inmost recesses, on behalf of a fellow-being consigned to so hard and forlorn a lot? Who that places his son or his daughter, his wife or mother, in such a situation, but would feel his bosom heave with unutterable anguish! And yet, it is the lot of thousands of our fellow-creatures, the sad reality which they have to experience almost every year; and we cannot doubt but their sighs and groans, though disregarded by man, reach the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth, who declares himself to be the refuge of the poor, the refuge of the needy in his distress. May we not expect that, as he heard the groaning of the Israelites under their hard task-masters in Egypt, and delivered them by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, so he will hasten the day when he will deal with this nation according to his immutable justice, for the cruelties and oppression inflicted on the descendants of Africa.

When the wrongs and sufferings attendant on the system of slavery are set before us, they seem so vast and distressing, that there is a disposition in some persons to turn from them with aversion. They do not like to have their equanimity disturbed, or their sympathies excited, by such recitals; and looking at the extent of its area, the deep hold it has obtained in our land, fortified by the love of money and of ease, so natural to the unregenerate heart, they consider slavery as an evil which they cannot help, and for which there is no feasible remedy, and suffer

it speedily to pass out of their thoughts. How different was the course of the patriarch who says: "I delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless, and him that had none to help him." "I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I knew not I searched out." "Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble."

Moreover, slavery is an evil which sooner or later must be met. It is forcing itself upon us; and we are all more or less involved in its fearful consequences. If we give up our hearts to meet it in a Christian spirit, and, in the Divine fear and counsel, to do what may be our duty in respect to it with meekness and love, not only may we be made useful in enlightening and convincing the minds of others, and in lessening the amount of human misery; but as there is an honest desire to put an end to it; it may, and we cannot doubt but it will, please the Lord to open a way for its removal which we do not now see, and to give us wisdom and strength to effect this most desirable result.

Is there not reason to fear that a moral declension has come over the public sentiment in some parts of our country as respects slavery and its complicated evils? That the introduction of the subject into the political arena as one of the elements of party strife; the erroneous opinions with which opposition to it has sometimes been associated; the intemperate expressions or the imprudent actions of some, claiming to be abolitionists; and the loud and unjust denunciations of the motives of those who have sought to remove or restrict the system; have induced some who wish well to the cause of universal freedom to waver in their opinions or to relax their efforts? There is an apathy evinced, an unwillingness to make an open and honest avowal even of what conscience may approve, in condemning the system, and giving it its just character, which did not exist half a century ago; and

which are unfavourable indications as regards Christian integrity and a firm and unflinching opposition to wrong.

This is a dangerous state to fall into: for if we disregard the still small voice of Truth and the dictates of conscience; or from motives of self-interest, love of popularity or the fear of man, shrink from a proper avowal of our opinions on a subject so momentous, our moral perceptions will be likely to become blunted, we may gradually view with indifference things which once raised feelings of abhorrence, or perhaps become reconciled to them; and losing our sensibility to what is right, may be left blindly to follow evil.

Every man, however humble his sphere, has some influence over others, for the use of which he is accountable. It is his duty and his highest interest to employ that influence in the promotion of virtue and piety—and if he neglect so to use it, he is wasting a talent entrusted to him by his Maker. It is impossible to stand neuter: our influence is always operating in the direction of good or that of evil. The thought is a serious one; and it ought to incite to watchfulness and prayer, that under Divine guidance and by His aid, we may fearlessly and earnestly advocate the right and resist the wrong.

We deplore the existence of the evils against which we have here appealed to our fellow-citizens. We deeply lament that they deface the fair fame of our beloved country, and throw a dark shade over those principles of just liberty, security of person and property, and equity to all, which were proclaimed as the basis of our excellent government. We believe liberty is the right of every individual of the coloured race, and the full enjoyment of all his civil and social immunities. Justice demands these, and cannot, we apprehend, be satisfied with anything less.

What a mortifying spectacle do we present to the na-

tions of the earth, of a people making the highest profession and the greatest boast of universal liberty, and yet cherishing in its bosom an institution founded in fraud and maintained by violence—solemnly avowing as self-evident truths, that “all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;” and yet, with these words sounding from our legislative halls every year, depriving more than three millions of our fellow creatures of liberty, of the pursuit of happiness, and of all that renders life most dear.

In vain would it be to appeal to the despotic governments of the earth on behalf of their oppressed and down-trodden subjects, while we maintain among ourselves a tyranny so cruel, so subversive of justice and humanity, as to be paralleled only in the dark ages of barbarism.

The Divine blessing, and the merciful extension of His preserving and protecting Power, are the only security for governments or for individuals. If these are withdrawn, all the strength and skill of man cannot prevent the approach of ruin and decay. In the revolution of events, we often see that the wrong-doing of men and governments—the schemes they had contrived in fraud and executed by outrage, with the expectation of promoting their advantage, so far from accomplishing the ends they anticipated, have proved their own punishment. Such was the declaration of the Most High against His revolted and degenerate people formerly. “Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backsliding shall reprove thee; know therefore, and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts.”

It requires little foresight to perceive, in the train of events passing before us, that the pertinacious adherence

to the system of slavery threatens to bring its own correction and reproof upon our country at no very distant day. Can we reasonably hope for the continuance of the Divine blessing, if we wilfully persist in refusing to obey the precepts of our holy Lawgiver, to love our neighbour as ourselves, and to do to him as we would be done by; "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke?"

We fervently desire that it may please the Lord Almighty, in the riches of His love and mercy, to bring the hearts of the rulers and the people, in every part of our beloved country, to feel the miseries and the wrongs of the coloured races among us; to extend to them that sympathy and kindness which the benign religion of the Gospel inculcates; to make his law of universal righteousness the rule of action towards them, and to all men; that so his blessing may more abundantly rest upon us; that violence may no more be heard in our land, nor wasting and destruction come within its borders, but that the kingdom of the dear Son of God may be established and extended; and, under his blessed government, every heart and all our actions may continually breathe the Divine anthem, "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, and good will to men."

Signed on behalf and by direction of the Meeting aforesaid,

WILLIAM EVANS,  
*Clerk this year.*

## APPENDIX.

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### A.

SINCE the Appeal was prepared, the official despatch from which the following is taken has been obtained: —

Robert T. Schenck, Minister from the United States at the court of Brazil, in a letter to Secretary Webster, dated "Rio Janeiro, April 26th, 1852," says: "I desire to call your particular attention to the subject of the slave trade between Brazil and the coast of Africa. This infamous and inhuman traffic, thanks principally, I must say, to the vigilance of the British cruisers, and the disposition manifested and measures taken by the Ministers of State . . . in this government, has seemed for a year or more to be nearly, if not altogether stopped. But there are many indications of its revival, and I grieve to have to inform you that . . . no flag is more likely to be prostituted to the vile purpose of protecting those engaged in the business than our own."

"A reaction has evidently taken place. . . . I am sorry to say that . . . nothing seems to occur to these miscreants who would commerce in human flesh, more likely to serve their purposes, than the use, or rather abuse, of the American flag. It alone gives privilege and immunity from visitation and search, when on the high seas, against all pursuers but the commissioned naval police of our country."

"Within the last two weeks, two American fast-sailing brigs have been fitted out and sailed from this port, cleared and freighted for the coast of Africa. There is every reason to believe, from the quality and assortment of goods taken by them, and from other suspicious facts, that their object was to trade for slaves."

In a communication from the same officer to Secretary Everett, dated "Rio Janeiro, Feb. 5th, 1853," he says: "I mentioned . . . that two American brigs had left this port under suspicious circumstances, intending no doubt to make slave voyages, although, under existing laws, neither the Consul of the United States, nor I, had any power to detain them, or means to intercept and defeat their nefarious purpose. I was not mistaken. Those apprehensions have been realized."

"One of the vessels, by the accidents of navigation on the African

coast, was prevented from getting her human cargo afloat, and has returned to the United States. The other, 'the Camargo,' American, I think from Portland, Maine, with American flag, captain, and crew, arrived on this coast again a few weeks ago, with five hundred blacks on board, whom she succeeded, by concert with persons on shore, in running in and landing at Brauchy, a little unfrequented port. . . . To avoid pursuit and detection, the brig was then burnt to the water's edge, and the hull scuttled and sunk — her captain, named Gordon, and his sailors scattering through the country and escaping."

In a newspaper inclosed in the despatch, called the "Corrieo Mercantil," issued at Rio, and dated the last day of 1852, the editor, speaking of the above landing of slaves, says: "We are informed that this violation of law was perpetrated under the American flag." "We say, with regret, that it was the flag of the United States which covered this act of piracy, sustained by citizens of that great nation, who, disobeying the orders of their government, and violating the laws of their country, do not blush to soil the glorious flag of their nation only with a view to the vile profits of this accursed traffic in Africans."

"If the government of the American Union does not resolve to vindicate still more closely the honour of its flag — if its diplomatic agents, and those of its navy, have not their powers enlarged, or are not provided with means for prosecuting those who, against the laws of their own country, violate the laws of nations, the slave trade will receive new animation, and the American flag, which has assisted so much in the civilization of the world, . . . will lose both in dignity and glory. It is confidently stated that other speculations like that of which we treat will also be protected by the American flag."

## B.

The following is an extract from a letter dated from the "British cruiser Sappho, off Loando, September 29th, 1857." It reveals a shocking incident in the prosecution of the slave trade: —

"On the morning of the 18th inst., in a thick mist, with rain, we closed with a schooner. While boarding her, the weather cleared, and a large ship was seen close to the land. Directly our boats returned, we made all sail in chase, the ship making all sail to avoid us, and the chase became very exciting. The captain said we were gaining, and so they must have thought on board the ship, as he tacked in shore and we after him; then he bore away, running along the edge of the surf, and by help of his large sails was drawing ahead.

"By this time we were sure he was one of the large American slave ships, and we feared he would escape if he got sea-room, so the captain took a boat well manned and armed, and pulled to windward to cut him off, and he would be obliged to tack off shore. Another boat was



sent to leeward, the master, the only officer on board, being left in charge. The ship was not more than a mile and a half distant, close to the surf. Seeing the trap laid for him, and that he could not escape, he ran his ship ashore. We anchored in four fathoms; the master took the whale boats close to the ship, and was soon joined by the other boats.

"The ship was rolling in the breakers, with all her sails flapping about, and appeared to be full of slaves; the master and crew had abandoned her with their boats, leaving the American colors flying. Then we all beheld a dreadful scene; the slaves forced their way from below, jumped overboard, and soon disappeared in the rollers. It was terrible to see them. Our officers and men, regardless of their own lives, pulled through the surf to the leeward of the ship, but her heavy lurching for some time prevented their boarding. When they succeeded, the scene was horrifying; the slaves still forcing their way up from the slave decks with loud yells, running to and fro, and continuing to throw themselves overboard.

"All attempts to pacify them were useless; force was necessary to drive them below until preparations could be made for their safety. We were told by one of the slaves who could speak Portuguese, that they were told the English would cut all their throats. As soon as the boat could be attended to, the cutter was backed under the stern and a rope thrown her; then three of the slaves were permitted up at a time, and lowered into the boat, the whale boat conveying them through the rollers to the large boat, and so on to the Sappho. This continued until eight P. M. The surf increased, and it was impossible to save more that night. One hundred and eighty were rescued. The master was left with a guard on board. It was an anxious and sleepless night for all, as death was rapidly decreasing the number of the poor negroes, who, starving and naked, died from utter misery — men, women, boys and girls, [almost] two hundred on board the Sappho — and, as they ceased to breathe, we were obliged to throw them overboard. Poor negroes! . . . Fortunately, we had plenty of rice from the schooner captured, which we fed them with, and placed them as best we could under cover of sails. As food and warmth restored them, in various ways they signified their sense of [our] kindness.

"There was one poor creature with an infant at her breast, naked, cold and exhausted, apparently dying; a little wine was given her, then some rice, which she forced from her own to her baby's mouth. A sheet was given to cover her; she wrapped her baby in it, and pressed it to her heart with that look of maternal love which God has given to the dark as well as to the pale-faced race. On board the schooner, the master and guard were with the remaining negroes in a perilous state; the former passed the night in the fore-castle and bowsprit, drenched by the spray of the heavy rollers.

"At dawn, on the 19th, the wind and surf had increased; the ship had driven closer to the beach; numbers of armed people were collected; a signal for assistance was made; the captain went with all the

boats manned and armed, when the natives on the beach, led on by white men, apparently the crew of the ship, commenced firing, with the intention of preventing the rescue of any more negroes. This continued an hour before we could clear the beach. On again boarding the wreck, she was found breaking up, with her hold full of water. On the tide receding, her hull was nearly dry, and there was no time to spare. The large boats were stationed to keep the beach clear with their guns; the cutter was anchored at the back of the surf, and, by watching the rollers, they succeeded in throwing her a rope, when the negroes were lowered and hauled through the surf, and conveyed as before to the *Sappho*, two hundred more being rescued; then the wreck was set fire to, and our people withdrawn.

"We were in such a state, with three hundred and eighty negroes crowding our decks; the stench was putrefying, and it was impossible to work the ship. In this state the second day closed upon us. We were forty miles from Shark's Point; the captain resolved to go in his boat and ask for assistance. They pulled all night in the heavy rain, and at daylight, on the 20th, fortunately met the *Vesuvius*, Commodore Wise, with whom the captain returned. Commodore Wise took the negroes on board the *Vesuvius*, to be sent to Sierra Leone in the *Alector* prize.

"I have given you the history of one of the many American ships employed in the slave trade; six, I think, have been taken. We seized the *Panchita* thirty miles up the coast, and sent her to New York; we do not know whether the American government will condemn her."

## C.

In offering a resolution to the Senate of the United States, inquiring into the expediency of adopting measures to prevent the use of the American flag for protecting persons engaged in the African Slave Trade, John M. Clayton, Senator from the State of Delaware, said:—

"Since the year 1852, the Slave Trade has fearfully increased in the Island of Cuba. Thousands of African negroes have been brought from the coast of Africa during the last sixteen months, and smuggled into this island, and the fact has attracted the attention of good men throughout the civilized world. No portion of this Union is believed to be more decidedly opposed to this inhuman traffic than the southern portion of it, where, although men are deeply interested in the preservation of their own peculiar institution, the abhorrence of these outrages on humanity by the African Slave Trade exists as strongly as it does in any other portion of the world, and I think I am fully justified in saying that the men of the South will go as far in putting down this inhuman traffic in human flesh as any others. Southern honour stands pledged to that effect, and the brightest jewel in the chaplet of the South is her honour.

We are all, then, equally interested to inquire what has been the cause of the recent extraordinary success of the Slave Trade in the Island of Cuba? It is with regret that I am compelled to admit the fact that a great majority of these slaves have been imported from the coasts of Africa in vessels of American build, and that these vessels, navigated by crews of American sailors, and commanded by American captains, have participated in that trade to an alarming extent, and in a manner which I will now proceed to explain:

"The owner of an American ship, desiring to sell her for a slaver, sends her with a cargo to Havana. She arrives there with the understanding that she is to be sold and employed in the Slave Trade. Some wealthy individual or joint stock company, tempted by the prospect of enormous profits, advances money enough to purchase the vessel, and fit her out for an adventure to the coast of Africa. By the laws of the United States it is necessary for her new owner to procure for her a new register upon her return to this country, and within three days after she has arrived at a port here. She is generally purchased in the name of the captain who sails with her to Havana, and who undertakes with his employers to navigate her under the American flag, and with an American crew, to some port on the African coast at or south of Elephant Bay, for enormous profits, proportioned to the risk he incurs, but seldom falling short of five thousand or six thousand dollars. It was not the original intention that she should return to the United States, but her commander, on his arrival at Havana, deposits her papers with the American Consul, and obtains, in lieu of them, for the vessel, a Consular certificate, called a Consular sea-letter. With such a certificate, or, as it is said, sometimes with the original sea-letter, with which he sailed from the United States, the captain embarks with the very crew with which he sailed from the United States, under the American flag, bound for Gallinas, or Cabinda, or some other port on the coast of Africa where slaves can be best procured. He takes with him another captain and another crew as passengers, to cover his design, composed generally of Portuguese or Spaniards, with the addition, perhaps, of a few American or English desperadoes, and his cargo is generally composed of farina, beans, casks of water, and aguadente, sweetmeats, and boards seemingly cast without care on the top of the water-casks, but, in reality, all fitted and prepared to make a slave-deck to stow away the slaves on their return from Africa to the Island of Cuba, for which purpose this slave-deck, it is said, can be constructed by the crew in less than an hour.

"On the voyage from Havana to the coast of Africa, if overhauled by an English cruiser, he points to his American flag and shows his American papers; and when he arrives at his port of destination, in pursuance of a previous arrangement between those concerned in the Trade at Cuba and their agents on the coast of Africa, the American colours are lowered, the American captain and the American crew leave the vessel and go on shore, or on board another vessel waiting there to bring them back to Cuba, and the new captain and crew, who sailed in the slaver as passengers, then take charge of the vessel. If an English or

American cruiser be in sight, they receive timely information by signals from the land, and thus avoiding capture, the vessel lays to within sight of the barracoons, or slave-pens, without taking in sails, but merely lowering her topsails, until her human freight is, by the immense barges or boats prepared for the purpose on shore, put on board the vessel. Thus, frequently, 900 or 1000 slaves are shipped aboard a vessel, and she is off on her return voyage to Cuba, eluding all pursuit, in less than one hour after she entered the port. Such an adventure is commonly achieved in the night, but it is also sometimes performed in broad daylight. I remember that, while engaged professionally in the trial of an indictment in the Circuit Court of the United States, for such a violation of the Acts of Congress, a sailor, and a very intelligent witness, swore that he had frequently seen a vessel run into the harbour of Cabinda, send down her topsails on the caps, and clear out, with 900 slaves on board, in half an hour. . . . .

"Before I leave the subject of the resolution, it may be well to remark that American ships are always sought for in Havana for the Slave Trade, and command a higher price when purchased or chartered to be used as slavers than the vessels of any other nation. Hence it is that our countrymen are more deeply implicated as participating in this traffic than either Englishmen or Frenchmen. We have acquired a degree of skill in the construction of ships unequalled by any other nation. . . . .

"It is not merely the superiority of the American vessel, but the superior character of the American captains for skill, intrepidity, and daring in these hazardous enterprises, that causes them to be employed at higher prices than could be obtained by others."

## D.

*Extract from the "New York Herald" of 7th month, 14, 1856.*

**THE SLAVE TRADE. — FITTING OUT VESSELS IN THE PORT OF NEW YORK.** — Mr. Secretary Marcy has laid before the Senate a report in answer to a resolution in reference to the fitting out of vessels in the ports of the United States, for the purpose of being engaged in the Slave Trade. The Secretary gave the names of six vessels sailing out of the port of New York; but we are enabled to supply, from authentic sources, the names of twenty-one vessels, eighteen of which have left this port within the last three years. There are many others which are well known to have embarked on slaving expeditions, as is admitted by a letter from Mr. Marcy to Mr. McKeon, in August, 1854; but as they have not returned, they are supposed to have been destroyed at sea. It appears that the usual practice is to equip vessels in this port for the apparent purposes of legitimate trade, but which carry a sufficient quantity of planks to erect slave-decks, a large number of water-casks and rice, and other articles of food for a cargo of negroes. Having traded between the slave ports on the coast of Africa [and Cuba], the

captain and crew abandon their ship and set fire to her, in order to destroy all traces of her unlawful engagement.

We have laws on the statute books prohibiting the Traffic in Slaves, or the fitting out of vessels for the purpose. The following are the sections of the Act:—

“No citizen, or other person, shall, for himself or others, either as master, factor, or owner, build, fit, equip, load, or otherwise prepare any vessel in any place within the United States, for the purpose of procuring any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, from any foreign country, to be transported to any place whatsoever, to be held, sold, or otherwise disposed of as a slave, or to be held to service or labour: and such vessel so built, fitted out, equipped, laden, or otherwise prepared for such purpose, her tackle, apparel, furniture and lading shall be forfeited, one moiety to the United States, and the other to the use of the prosecutor, and such vessel may be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any court of the United States having competent jurisdiction.

“Every person so building, fitting out, equipping, loading, or otherwise preparing or sending away, or causing any such act to be done, with intent to employ such vessel in such trade, or who shall in any wise be aiding or abetting therein, shall, on conviction, forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars, nor less than one thousand dollars, one moiety to the United States and the other to the prosecutor, and shall be imprisoned for a term not exceeding seven nor less than three years.”

With the immense traffic that is set on foot in our very midst, we would ask what has been done to check it? Turning to the records of the United States Courts, we find that from 1845 to 1854, there were but five cases of the violation of this law of which judicial notice has been taken, and they were thus disposed of:—Mansfield and Driscoll forfeited their recognizances of 5000 dollars each; Captain Theodore Canot was held to answer in 1847, but nothing has ever been done in his case since; Captain Jefferson turned State's evidence; and in the case of Captain D. Mathew a *nolle prosequi* was entered.

Since 1854 there have been thirty-two persons indicted, and thirteen tried, of whom one was convicted and twelve acquitted; the indictments against the other nineteen are so recent that they have not yet been tried. Captain James Smith, of the brig “*Julia Moulton*,” was convicted of commanding that vessel and conveying a cargo of slaves on the coast of Africa—the penalty would have been death; but a new trial was granted, and the Government subsequently consented to a plea of guilty to a minor offence, and he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. R. E. Lascala was tried on a charge of fitting out the slaver “*Horatio*,” and acquitted; Manuel Echeveria, fitting out the “*Mary Jane Peck*,” acquitted; E. Valentine, fitting out the “*Julia Moulton*,” acquitted; Gaspard M. de Cunha and eight of the crew of the “*Falmouth*,” acquitted. There are still pending charges against Bazilio de Cunha Reis, of the firm of Figanieri, Reis & Co., for fitting out the “*Alevo*,” Henrique

de Costa, Joseph P. de Cunha, Patricio de Castro, and thirteen of the crew of the "*Braman*," and two other parties not yet arrested.

The following vessels, with the exception of the "*Laurens*," the "*Butterfly*," and the "*Catherine*," sailed out of the port of New York within the past three years; these three schooners were fitted out some few years before that period:—

| CLASS.        | NAME.                | FATE.                                         |
|---------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Barque.....   | Millaudon.....       | Destroyed at sea.                             |
| Brig .....    | Glamorgan.....       | Captured. Condemned at Boston.                |
| Ditto .....   | Ellenus .....        | Ditto. Destroyed on the coast.                |
| Barque.....   | Laurens .....        | Ditto. Condemned at New York.                 |
| Schooner..... | Mary Jane Peck ..... | Ditto by the British. Ditto at Sierra Leone.  |
| Ditto .....   | Mary E. Smith.....   | Ditto by the Brasiliana.                      |
| Ditto .....   | Butterfly .....      | Ditto. Condemned in New York.                 |
| Ditto .....   | Catherine.....       | Ditto. Ditto.                                 |
| Ditto .....   | Advance .....        | Ditto. Condemned at Norfolk.                  |
| Ditto .....   | Julia Moulton.....   | Destroyed at sea.                             |
| Ditto .....   | Julia Mystic.....    | Ditto.                                        |
| Barque.....   | Jasper.....          | Capt'd. Acquitted because of defect in libel. |
| Ditto .....   | Chancellor.....      | Ditto. Not yet decided.                       |
| Ditto .....   | Martha.....          | Ditto. Condemned in New York.                 |
| Schooner..... | Falmouth .....       | Ditto. Ditto.                                 |
| Ditto .....   | Horatio .....        | Destroyed at sea.                             |
| Ditto .....   | Lady Suffolk .....   | Captured, and since in the Mexican service.   |
| Barque.....   | Republic.....        | Destroyed at sea.                             |
| Schooner..... | Altiva .....         | Ditto.                                        |
| Ditto .....   | N. H. Gambrill.....  | Captured. Condemned in New York.              |
| Ditto .....   | Braman .....         | Ditto, and in process of adjudication.        |

Thus we see that though vessels have been captured and condemned, there has been but one man convicted of the offence against the statute. Why such a proportion of acquittals? If the legal construction of those laws permits the encouragement of the Slave Trade, the sooner the Act of Congress is amended the better.

*Extract from the "National Intelligencer," published in the City of Washington.*

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE IN NEW YORK CITY.—According to the "Journal of Commerce," the United States Deputy Marshall says:—

This business was never prosecuted with greater energy than at present. The occasional interposition of the legal authorities exercises no apparent influence for its suppression. It is seldom that one or more vessels cannot be designated at the wharves respecting which there is evidence that she is either in or has been concerned in the Traffic; and within the last nine months three alleged slave cases of the character referred to have been before our Courts, resulting in one instance in confiscation.

The manner of conducting this trade has undergone some change within a few months which it is well to observe. Parties in Cuba desirous of fitting out a slaver have no difficulty in procuring agents in this city, through certain commercial houses, to negotiate for the charter of such a craft as may be deemed suitable for an African voyage.

They come here with the requisite amount of funds, and effect a charter, with a proviso that the vessel may be purchased, if desired, when she arrives at her destination. Through the potent influence of said funds it becomes the interest of all concerned, even to the sailmaker, caulker, shipwright, and joiner, to say no more about the matter than is necessary; and, as regards the cargo, Judge Betts has ruled that its character, as ordinarily made up, can afford no evidence justifying the vessel's detention.

The vessel, therefore, departs with the United States flag at her peak, and a proper person on board provided with blank papers, the powers of attorney, &c.; so that, if an arrangement can be effected for procuring a cargo of negroes, the vessel is sold at a large profit, and her late owners in New York are no longer responsible for her proceedings. Her flag will protect her from interference by foreign cruisers, and our own are not so numerous but they can commonly be avoided. The vessel is then run to Cuba, the cargo discharged, and the vessel burnt. Humanity has been outraged, but a princely fortune has been acquired.

The question is renewed with still more earnestness, "Can the fitting out of slavers here be prevented?" There are officers in the employ of the government noted for their sagacity and long experience in connection with this subject, who answer that it can, by so amending the law relating to the shipment of crews that vessels engaged in the African-trade shall take none but Americans. The journal thinks this would stop the crime, as Portuguese men are the sailors.

[The "Baltimore American" of 11th month, 28th, 1856, contains an article holding forth similar sentiments and statements as the above.]

#### E.

The following extracts will serve to illustrate the nature and effects of the scheme for procuring free labour from Africa, viz.:—

#### No. 1.

"The operations of the French Government to obtain supplies of labour from the west coast of Africa, commenced in the early part of the present year; not, however, in the mischievous form which they subsequently assumed. The earlier intentions of that Government were to obtain, if it were possible, emigrants in a state as nearly approaching to freedom as is ever enjoyed by labourers on that coast. For that purpose a screw steamer, called the *Phoenix*, was chartered and despatched, not by any contractors, nor under any commercial arrangement with mercantile houses, but by the French Government itself. This vessel hoisted the pennant of France, and all her proceedings were directed by responsible Government agents. She did not make for the old slave trading-ports and rivers of the coast, where legitimate commerce was gradually extirpating and rooting out the detestable traffic in human beings, but visited the European settlements and factories scattered so usefully

along it, as also the American republic of Liberia and the Kroo country, where native labour, though not absolutely free, is at all events freer than at any other part where European authority is not established.

"Resorting to those parts of the African coast where they were in some measure under the observation of European officials, the agents employed did not openly attempt to purchase the negroes from the chiefs or the old slave-dealers, but they offered a premium to all who could be persuaded to come aboard and accompany them. They thus succeeded in obtaining about three hundred, who, without understanding the nature of the contract made with them, or the full character of that part of it they were to perform, remained on board, as the vessel coasted along the country. But when in the prosecution of her voyage, the vessel called at Fernando Po, a large number, beginning to suspect that they were deceived, jumped overboard, and escaped to the shore. The plan, in this shape, was a failure, and it became evident that if Africans were to be obtained for transportation, it must be by some other means.

"The scheme was consequently abandoned, and a contract was entered into by the imperial government with M. Regis, of Marseilles, for the transference by him of ten thousand Africans to Martinique and Guadaloupe, in consideration of twenty pounds a-head for each African. Of the selection of M. Regis for the execution of such a contract, even had it been of a guarded, and cautious, and protective kind, we will say no more than that, in the opinion of the well-informed writer of the letters before us, it was, notwithstanding that gentleman's experience of African commerce, in all respects a most unfortunate one. It was, however, especially unfortunate in this, that M. Regis had a mercantile establishment at Whydah, the port whence the slave trade was carried on by the King of Dahomey and those connected with him, and whence the dreadful commerce had extended itself to the other ports in the Bight of Benin.

"At Whydah, it was at once decided this French enterprise of buying slaves for exportation to the West Indies should be chiefly carried on. No sooner did news of this resolution to carry on there a slave trade under the French flag, and protected by all the authority of the French empire, transpire at Whydah, than, as we have said, the old European slave-dealers at once abandoned lawful commerce, and, encouraged by this determination, revived on their own account the slave trade with Cuba, where the price of slaves, owing to the enormously increasing value of sugar, had greatly risen. Their operations, and the expectations of French demand, brought down on the Bight a whole host, to use Consul Campbell's expressive language, of bearded, unwashed Spaniards, Portuguese, and Americans; roused, as we have seen, the chiefs of Abeokuta and the interior to slave-hunting and kidnapping, and at once, as the correspondence before us repeats over and over again, seriously diminished the quantity of produce collected for exportation. American slave-ship after American slave-ship appeared in the Bight, and it was announced that M. Regis had chartered four large steamers for his share in the traffic. This announcement aroused the attention



of Consul Campbell, as yet in ignorance of the contract, but his suspicions were lulled by an assurance that the vessels so chartered were intended for the postal service of the French government. The statement soon proved utterly untrue, for in a few weeks after it was made, a large steamer, called the *Stella*, appeared off Whydah, with orders to purchase and embark twelve hundred negroes for the French Indian colonies.

"The effect of this demand for a single ship, with the prospect of three other similar arrivals, convulsed the whole Bight of Benin. The chiefs and all their subjects deserted legitimate trade, and English merchants, entangled with a large amount of property unpaid for in the interior, were only too happy to be able to contract their operations and ship their property as fast as possible.

"But it soon appeared that M. Regis, despite his large African experience, had entered into a very rash and hazardous speculation. For the twenty pounds a-head, which he was to receive, afforded him inadequate means to compete with the slave-dealers, who had the open and unrestricted market of Cuba to supply, in the prices they respectively offered for prime first class Africans. The French contractors proposed ten pounds a-head; their Spanish competitors instantly rose to eighteen and twenty pounds; and, outbidding the agents of the French government, they got the first class negroes for Cuba, while nothing but the old, the weak, the infirm, and the dilapidated Africans were left for Martinique and Guadeloupe.

"Most fortunately for the imperial government, the limitation of the price to be paid the French contractor in this most discreditable and very deplorable enterprise has, we learn, prevented the *Stella* obtaining her full complement of twelve hundred Africans in the Bight of Benin; and that ship had at the latest dates sailed with several hundreds on board for the river Gaboon, there, it is greatly to be feared, to complete the number she can convey to the West Indies. This failure at Whydah will, we say, be a most fortunate occurrence for the French government, if it only teaches them the commercial lesson that in a trade so wicked and lawless, and abominable as this traffic in Africans, no government or government contractors can compete with the remorseless and established slave-dealers, who buy in Africa to sell again in Cuba. And as, since the contract was formed, sugar has fallen twenty pounds a ton in value, let us earnestly hope that the miserable and mistaken inducement in which the contract no doubt originated, has disappeared, and that the contract itself will be at once terminated."

## No. 2.

The evidence of those best acquainted with the natives of Western Africa distinctly states that it is impossible to obtain one thousand *free* persons to emigrate on any terms, and that they cannot be procured in any other way than with the consent, after regular bargain and sale, of the native kings. From a letter from M. Fitzpatrick, who held an

English judicial position on the Gold Coast for six years, we cite a single paragraph:—

“The Africans are not a migratory people. If they were free to-morrow, and capable of understanding this contract for ten years’ expatriation and servitude, they would much rather become slaves in their own country than enter into it. The Kroomen, though fond of earning money to take back to their own country after a short absence, and though tempted on board cruisers by pay amounting to from eight dollars to twelve dollars per month, with full rations or their money value—equal to seven dollars more per month, and employment on the element on which they are at home, will not enter into lengthened service; and to suppose that they would be induced, by a promise of twelve and a half francs per month, to go to a distant country for ten years, is absurd.”

Similar testimony is given by M. Forster, for many years intimately and largely connected with the trade of Western Africa. He says:—

“If the slave trade is to be revived in this new form, it may just as well be revived in its old shape. The consequences will be quite as bad—nay, in some respects worse. A limited demand in the way proposed would bring more slaves from the interior than were wanted, and they would be starved in barracoons, while it would unsettle the minds of the people, and disturb and destroy legitimate trade as much as an unlimited traffic under the old system.”

The following is extracted from a letter, dated “Robertsport, Liberia, Feb. 1st, 1858”:—

“The Emperor [of France], it seems, is very anxious to have African labour in his West India provinces, and French ships have been sent to the coast of Liberia, with national officers on board, for native emigrants. However honest or rigid they may be disposed to conduct this system, it is impossible for them to guard against the abuses arising from it, and prevent its engendering the original slave trade. Domestic slavery is an ancient institution of the natives, from which we have nothing to fear, if no foreign influence tampers with their passions and rekindles the spirit of war to supply this demand for labour. All captives are reduced to slavery, and they, like philosophers, submit to their fate. I visited one of these ships, and, as I knew several of the natives, I conversed with them freely. They informed me that they were on board against their own will; that the chiefs would not send any of their free people away, but would readily furnish their slaves for sixteen dollars per head—the price formerly given by slavers; that they were brought to the vessel in fetters; that they were anxious to leave the vessel, and hoped that I would do what I could to secure that end. The chiefs are not particular about the name, and would just as soon have it known as the emigrant system as any other, so long as it opened a market for their captives. Our government has no objection to voluntary emigration; but, in justice to the unprotected, it has used its authority to prevent any deviation from this rule, which, in fact, neutralizes the whole system.”

## No. 3.

We copy the following from the "London Morning Star," of March 8th, 1857:—

"On the 20th of November last, a small steamer of three hundred and eighty-three tons, and eighty horse power, constructed to sail with or without steam, fully armed and equipped for war, carrying a crew of thirty-two men, and displaying the French flag, might have been seen putting out from Loango, on the western coast of Africa, and creeping along shore towards Cabinda. Her name was the *Stella*. A small fleet of French men-of-war was awaiting her arrival at that port. It consisted of four vessels, namely, *La Tourmente*, *La Canoniere*, the corvette *La Zélie*, and *La Jeanne d'Arc*, the whole division being under the command of M. Prote, captain of the latter vessel. The *Stella* had lost its captain, by name Oddo, at Loango, where it seems he had taken one hundred and twenty-three Africans on board, and the command had therefore devolved on her first mate, a native of Brittany, named Bernard. He found no papers, no instructions, no plans, no manifest to guide his movements; but he knew that he had to go to Cabinda; that the *Stella* had been chartered by Messrs. Regis & Co., of Marseilles; that the object of her visit to the coast was to take in 'African immigrants;' that the Imperial government had sanctioned the transaction; and that all he had to do was to obtain a full cargo, and convey the people to Guadaloupe, one of the French West India colonies. He found the *Stella* short of coals, short of water, and short of provisions, and the small quantity on board of bad quality. The Breton, however, is proverbially determined and obstinate; and Captain Bernard reached Cabinda in the course of a few hours. On the 30th he took on board six hundred and nine 'immigrants,' all of them more or less sickly. On the 1st of December, the agent of the Imperial government, Commodore Prote, came on board, and entered into 'contracts for service' with the 'immigrants.' Immediately after, the *Stella* weighed anchor for Longuebonne, towing *La Canoniere*; the Commodore having given orders that the latter was to 'protect the embarkation of the complement' of the *Stella's* cargo. At Longuebonne, and on a signal being given—a signal preconcerted between those on board and those on shore—the government agent obtained and shipped eighty-seven more 'immigrants.' On the 4th of December the *Stella* left Longuebonne, having on board a cargo of nine hundred and fifty Africans, male and female, most of them sickly, and none older than twenty-five, but ranging from the ages of eighteen to twenty. The crew, as already stated, numbered thirty-two, making a grand total of nine hundred and eighty-two human beings on board a steamer of three hundred and eighty-three tons: though one account sets her at six hundred.

"Let our readers but bear in mind how much after-cabin passengers suffer from the great heat of the machinery on board even the largest

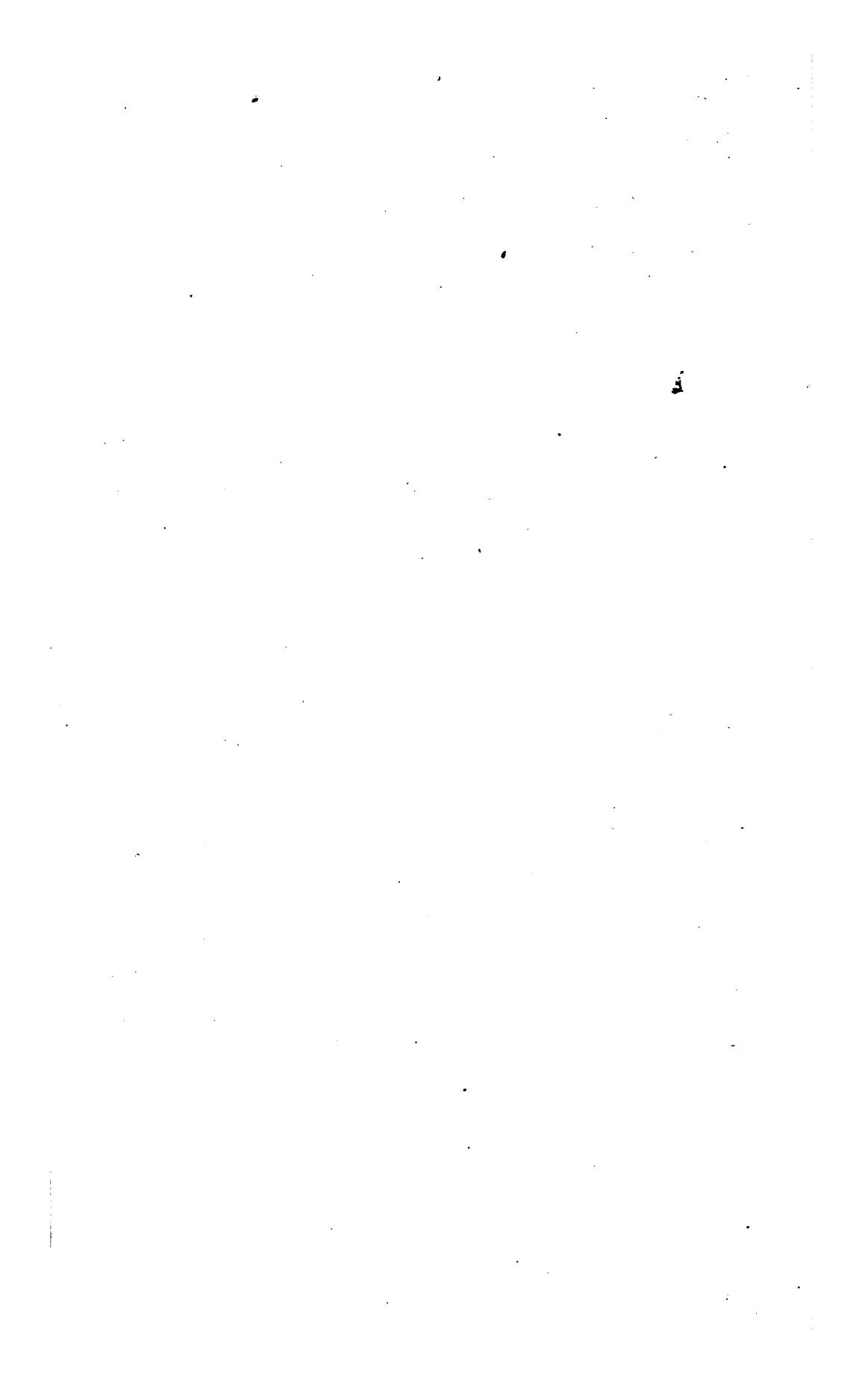
steamers, and they may form a faint idea of the torments these nine hundred and fifty wretched Africans, crammed into the hold of the *Stella*, must have endured. For thirty days the *Stella* — which might not inappropriately be named the 'Star of Misfortune' — pursued her weary way across the waste of waters, and nearly every alternate hour, during that ghastly voyage, the corpse of a human being was committed to the deep. On the 3d of January, of the present year, the *Stella* and her putrid cargo reached Basse-terre, Gaudaloupe, and landed four hundred and ninety-seven males, and one hundred and fifty females — the miserable remnant of the nine hundred and fifty people kidnapped from their African homes. One-third had passed to rest. Asphyxia, dysentery, fever, and exhaustion from fatigue and want of food, had done their office.

"But all was not yet over. These six hundred and forty-seven wretched beings, the majority perfectly naked, a few of the females only being slightly covered, and none sufficiently so to save decency, were landed at Basse-terre, a remote point of the island of Guadalupe. These were Captain Bernard's instructions from Commodore Prote, who appears to have been ignorant of a certain previous arrangement with the firm of Lahens, Collins & Co., of Pointe-a-Pitre, Guadalupe, and of a local ordinance, signed Bonfile, which designated Pointe-a-Pitre as the only authorized port for the disembarkation of 'immigrants.' No arrangements had been made at Basse-terre for the reception of what our correspondents style 'the merchandise.' The place offered not the smallest accommodation. It was a mere quagmire, a mud-hole, and the poor unfortunates who had survived the horrors of the middle passage were now crowded together in a pen, puddling in mire and filth like cattle at a market. More than even this, the water of Basse-terre possesses chemical properties notoriously fatal to persons suffering from dysentery, and no other was obtainable. The place itself, too, was the most remote from Pointe-a-Pitre, in the immediate neighbourhood of which resided the planters to whom the 'immigrants' had been allotted. Consequently, the former had to convey their 'lots' across the island, in the condition in which they were, without loss of time, and in the best way they could. Some were driven over land, others were crowded on board of small coasters under the direction of the firm of MM. Monnerot & Fillet, of La Moule. Amongst these coasters was a small schooner called *La Nouvelle Active*, on board of which one hundred and five Africans were crowded — eighty-two in the hold, and twenty-three, for want of more room there, on deck. She left port at ten in the evening, but, in running down the creek called *Le Canal des Saintes*, she struck upon some rocks, the position of which was well known, and foundered. The eighty-two Africans in the hold were drowned. Only the twenty-three on deck escaped, with the crew. The local government at once prohibited the newspapers from publishing any account of this catastrophe, and the colony would have remained ignorant of it, had not the corpses of the victims been thrown upon the shore by the waves, to tell the ghastly tale to the terrified population.

"The original letters, from which we have derived the foregoing particulars, are in our possession. They are dated the 26th and 27th of January last, and are signed by several highly respectable and perfectly trustworthy inhabitants of the colony whence they are dated. The dreadful fact that, out of nine hundred and fifty Africans shipped from the West coast, only two hundred and twenty-one reached their ultimate destination on the French plantations, tells its own terrible tale. We would, however, further direct the attention of our readers to the nature of the transaction on the coast. The 'contracts,' as they are called, were entered into with the immigrants after they were safe on board the *Stella*; that is, were in the power of their owners. Previous arrangements had been made for obtaining them. They were packed together in the hold, not as passengers, but as slaves usually are. The majority were sickly, because the Spanish and Portuguese had outbidden the French speculators, and carried off the strong and the 'likely.' Can any doubt exist that, save in name, the expedition was literally a slave-trading one?"

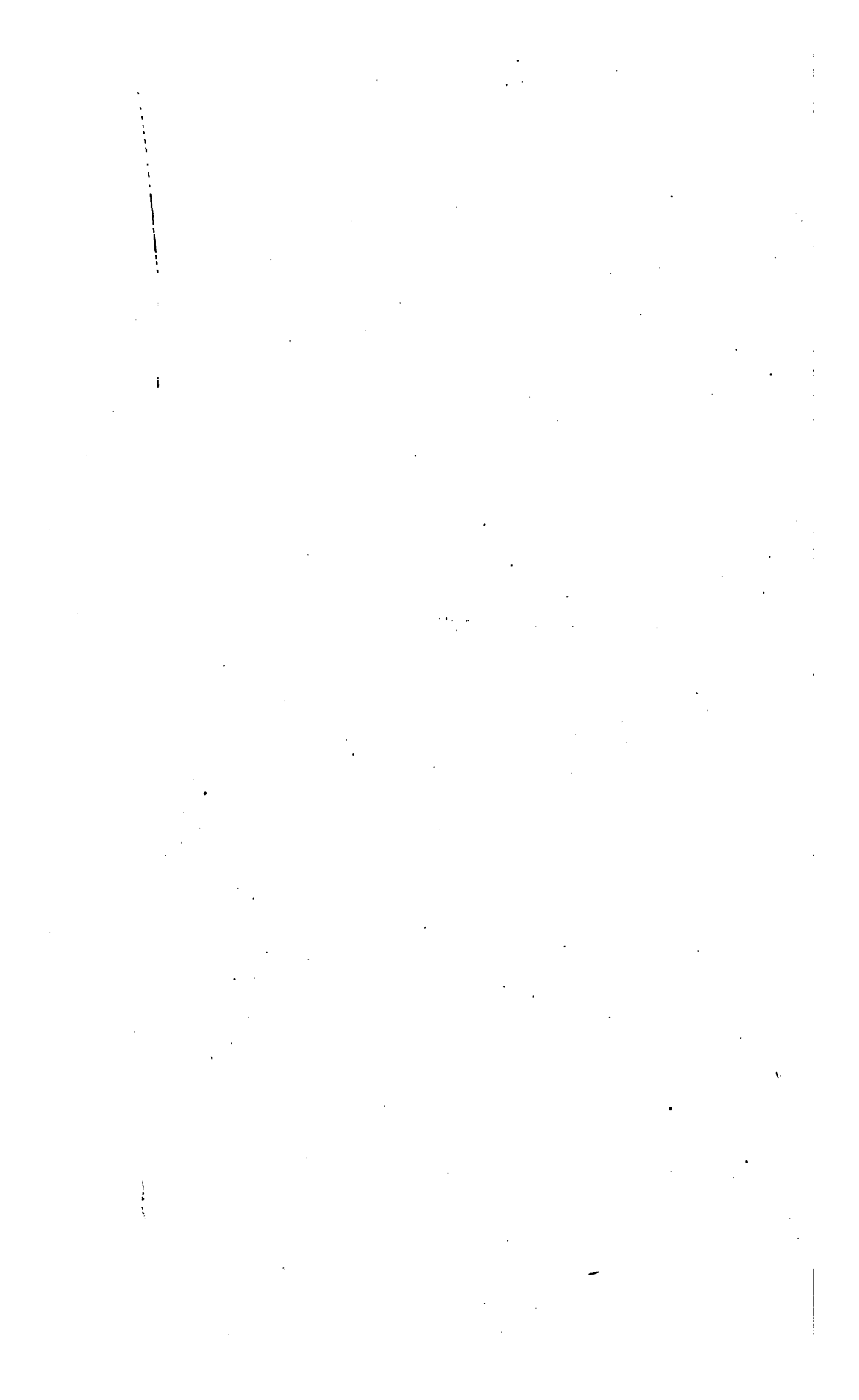
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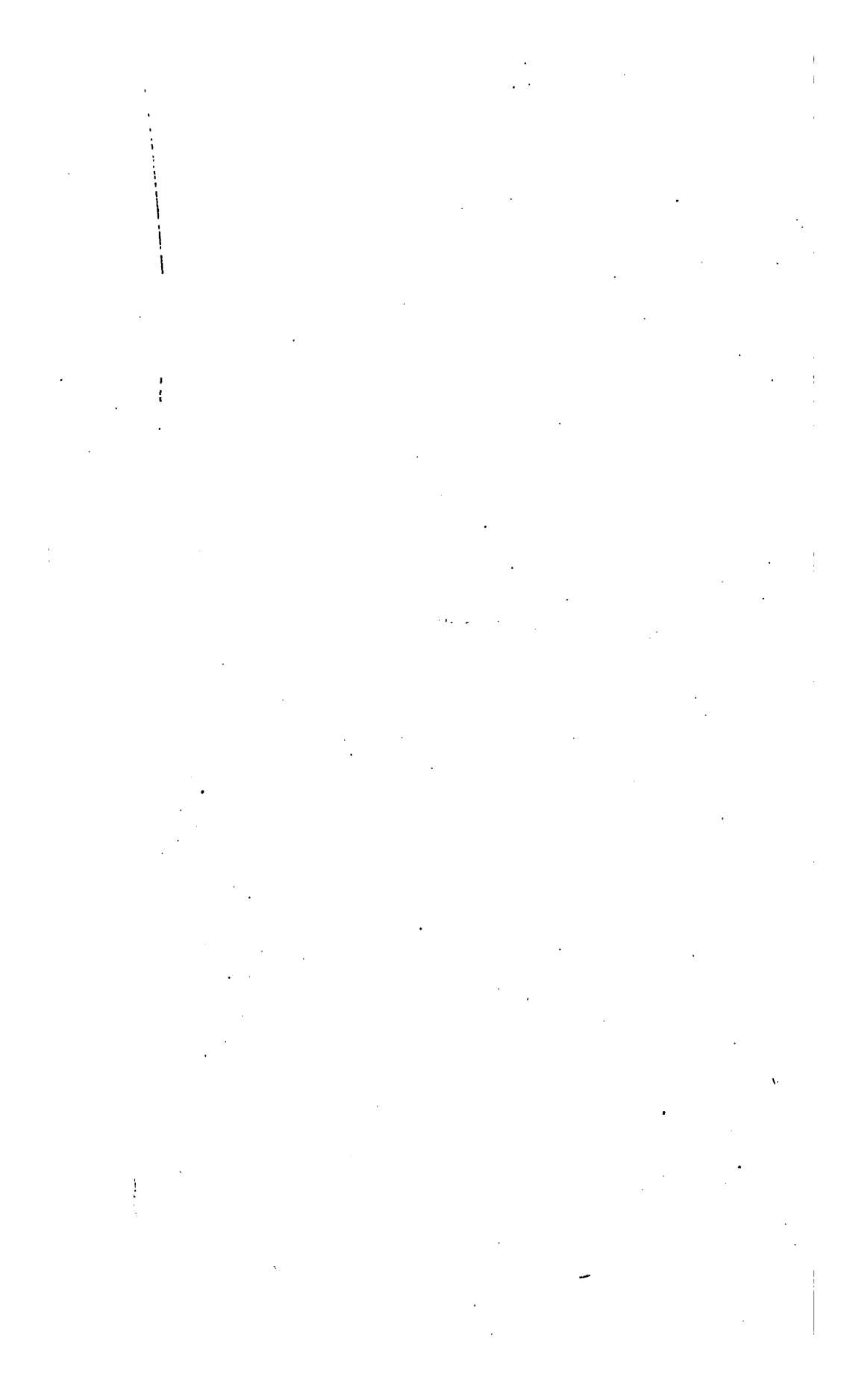
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